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# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1889.

## The Week.

THERE has been nothing revealed since the Republicans "returned to their own" in Washington which has so disgusted them as the discovery that there were, in the departments and elsewhere in the public service, many Republicans who had remained in office throughout the Cleveland Administration. How to get these men out and secure their places for a few thousand of hungry office-seekers, immediately became a pressing question. A solution appears to have been found, and it was very appropriately announced in the *Tribune* of Monday, under the guise of a Washington despatch. It is that the "holders" retained their places "usually by playing the rôle of 'informer' against their former official superiors and professing to be ardent Democrats," and consequently they are now to be found "among the men whose anxious faces haunt the hotel corridors." It is intimated that the President will make short work with them. Why make so much of a pretence as this for getting them out? Why not take the bold ground, frequently taken by Republican statesmen, that no Republican of self-respect would ever consent to hold office under a Democratic Administration, and any Republican who did consent is *prima facie* unfit for his place? That is much the easier way out of the difficulty.

The Cleveland *Leader* has an important communication from Washington touching President Harrison's intentions regarding the Civil-Service Law and the rules and regulations now in force. Shortly before the expiration of his term, President Cleveland extended the provisions of the law to the railway postal service. Some doubt as to the validity of this action has been entertained because, at the time the order was made, the Civil-Service Commission was in a disorganized state. An examination of the law will serve to remove this misapprehension. The Civil-Service Commissioners do nothing to give validity to the President's action. What they have to do is to "aid the President as he may request in preparing suitable rules for carrying the act into effect." The President may act without such aid if he chooses to do so. He may ask the assistance of private persons, or he may proceed without assistance from anybody. All that is incumbent upon him in order to give validity to the step is to "promulgate" it. The act of promulgating is simply the filing of the order in the State Department. It then becomes a public document, like a proclamation, or a statute, or a treaty. This mode of procedure was followed by Mr. Cleveland in extending the civil-service rules to the railway postal service, but by a clerical

error the time named for the order to take effect was March 15 instead of February 15. The error is not very important, since the President of the United States for the time being is empowered to make modifications of the rules at any time, whether these rules were made by himself or by any of his predecessors in office.

The despatch to the Cleveland *Leader*, which seems to be stamped with authority, says that President Harrison has declared his intention not to revoke the order, but to modify it, so that it shall take effect June 15 instead of March 15, and so that dismissed employees may be reinstated without reference to the time of their dismissal. The order, as it now stands, says that a dismissed employee may be restored within one year. President Harrison intends to strike out the words "within one year." The effect of the two modifications will be to give opportunity until June 15 to restore any employees who were dismissed under the Cleveland Administration, and to fill any or all positions in the service in the old way, instead of by competitive examination. Civil-service reformers would, of course, prefer that the extension of the rules made by President Cleveland should stand. Removals and changes were made in the railway postal service under his Administration that ought not to have been made; but since two wrongs do not make a right, it would be much better that the *status quo* should be respected in so far as the railway postal service is now well conducted, and that when it is not well conducted the places should be filled not by personal favor and political chicane, but by ascertained merit. The Civil-Service Law, it should be observed, does not prevent the President from removing any employee. It merely regulates the mode of filling the vacancy caused by the removal. The modifications made or to be made by President Harrison, therefore, simply open the door until June 15 for filling vacancies in the old way. We shall not attempt to criticise the President's action in the premises until we see in what manner he uses the liberty which he gives himself.

The Kansas Legislature adjourned on Monday. At the exact moment of President Harrison's inauguration, the House, after singing "Praise God from whom all blessings flow," adopted a resolution "that we congratulate the nation upon the incoming at this moment of a Republican Administration, and a consequent era of prosperity and good government." On Tuesday occurred the failure of the Reading Iron Works, with liabilities of nearly \$2,000,000, throwing 2,000 men out of employment. On Wednesday came the failure of the Excelsior Pottery at Trenton, N. J., employing 300 hands. On Thursday the Keystone Rolling Mill of

Reading, and the rolling mills at Naomi and Gibraltar, Penn., shut down, throwing altogether over 600 men out of employment. On Friday the Findlay (Ohio) Iron and Steel Company, with the principal rolling mill in that manufacturing centre, made an assignment, with liabilities of over \$100,000. We wonder what the protectionist newspapers and politicians would have said to these happenings if Mr. Cleveland had been re-elected. Would not the air have resounded with cries against tariff reform and all its disciples and advocates? We can scarcely imagine a more favorable basis for denunciation of the Cobden Club, the London *Times* and *Spectator* and *Iron Era*, and all the imaginary and forged extracts from the British press.

These failures are not chargeable to tariff reduction either actual or threatened. The Reading Iron Works were engaged principally in making wrought-iron tubes upon which there is a duty of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  and 3 cents per pound, equal to 71 per cent. ad valorem. That this duty is virtually prohibitory, is manifest from the fact that the total importations for the year 1887 were only \$116,000 worth. It is worth remark that this is the second failure of this great tube manufactory, the first having occurred in 1881, when the duty on their product was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cents per pound on all kinds of wrought tubes. On the occasion of the first failure, the creditors were compelled to take preferred stock in the reorganized company for their claims. This is now wiped out, together with the original capital, for, although there is an apparent excess of assets over liabilities, it is not likely that the sale of a plant which showed a deficit of \$87,000 in one year's operations would realize anything near the sum at which it stands in the company's balance sheet.

Gov. Hill's share in the abominations of the ceiling job were dimly discerned in Saturday's developments of the Assembly inquiry. Mr. Andrews, the janitor whom the "dealers" put in charge of the work, testified that he made a contribution of \$1,000 to the Democratic State Campaign Committee, \$500 of which he deducted from the \$3,500 of extra compensation which the Ceiling Committee, in violation of the Constitution, awarded him, and the remainder he collected from persons "around the Capitol." Mr. Andrews was a Hill Democrat, and had been put in charge of the ceiling job by Republicans. If Andrews gave this large proportion from his illegal salary, how much did the contractor give of his \$100,000 illegal profits on the job? In making this contribution to the campaign fund, and by collecting other moneys to go with it, Andrews violated the Civil-Service Law, and should be removed at once for that offence. It should be borne in mind

that the power to remove him lies in the Trustees of Public Buildings, who are the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Speaker of the Assembly. When Mr. Andrews confessed at the first investigation that he was incompetent and had grossly neglected his duties, the Assembly formally demanded his removal. Was the demand granted? Not by any means. The trustees obtained an opinion from the Attorney-General to the effect that they had not the power to suspend him while under fire. Will they remove him now in face of his own confession that he has violated the Civil-Service Law? Let us see. They can possibly obtain from the Attorney-General an "opinion" which will help them to protect him a little longer. Let it be remembered that the Speaker is also the Chairman of the Ceiling Committee, which preferred Andrews to Perry for the work, and that it was the Ceiling Committee, a majority of whom were Republicans, who voted to Andrews the \$3,500 of illegal compensation from which he gave \$500 to the Hill campaign fund. The truth of Mr. Ainsworth's declaration that the ceiling job elected Hill and Harrison, becomes more and more clear.

The cordial welcome which Mr. Cleveland is meeting from all classes and conditions of people in this city, makes the virulence with which he has been pursued down to this moment by a portion of the Republican press difficult to explain, as it is almost unprecedented to follow a retiring President into private life with vulgar abuse and ridicule. But, when one reflects on it, it is a very natural outcome of the spirit which the high-tariff men carry into all discussions affecting the tariff. An attack on the tariff is to them an attack on their property, and there is nothing which makes men so vindictive as an attempt to take property from them. In their eyes Mr. Cleveland, in getting hold of the Presidency and keeping the Republican party out of power for four years, really took money out of their pockets, and by his tariff message he began a movement which they fear will end in taking more. They therefore both hate and fear him, and consider any weapon lawful against him—including blackguard stories about his private life. One other thing in his career is gall and wormwood to them, and that is, that he is the first President since Lincoln who quitted the White House without leaving behind a single scandalous memory. No jobbery or fraud has been traced to the White House, or in its direction, while he occupied it. His friends have never had to apologize for or explain charges of self-seeking at the public expense, or the payment of personal obligations out of the public treasury; therefore, to his enemies he will probably remain a thorn in their side and a possible danger as long as he is alive and well.

The sudden and summary removal of Mr. Perry Belmont, our Minister to Spain, from the position which he has held only three or four months, emphasizes the personal pique

of Mr. Blaine towards the member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs who probed his Chilian-Peruvian diplomacy in the year 1881 to the extent of torture. In point of fact, Mr. Belmont fastened an untruth upon Mr. Blaine in that affair, and this ruthless act led the ex-Secretary to characterize Mr. Belmont as "no gentleman." Of course Mr. Belmont would expect to be recalled by the present Administration, but a mere recall would not serve Mr. Blaine's turn. His recall must needs be the first official act of the new Secretary. Nobody can doubt now, if anybody doubted before, that Mr. Belmont's probe produced a lasting sore.

Indiana has the honor of being the second State in the Union to enact a complete ballot-reform law. The Andrews bill, based upon the Australian method, has passed both houses of the Legislature, and has been signed by the Governor. It is a very voluminous law, containing many features of the Massachusetts law, and is as complete an application of the Australian system to American methods as has been formulated in any part of the country. It provides for the printing and distributing of all ballots by the State, for independent nominations by means of nomination papers, for an absolutely secret ballot, and for the use of no ballots save those supplied by the State. There is no State in the Union more in need of such a law, for there is none in which there has been more corruption at the polls. Under the new provisions, Dudley "floaters in blocks of five" cannot be followed to the polls to see if they vote as they have been bribed—an obstacle to Dudley's usefulness as a power which may drive him out of politics. It should be added, for the edification of New York Democrats, that the Indiana Legislature is strongly Democratic in both branches.

A rude sort of educational test for the suffrage has just been established in North Carolina, by the passage through the Legislature of a bill providing that all ballot-boxes shall be labelled, and that voters shall approach the polls one at a time, and place their several ballots in the proper boxes, none to be counted which get into the wrong boxes. The theory of this law is eminently sound; it is nothing else than the traditional New England idea, that no man should be allowed to vote unless he can read. The North Carolina statute, if adopted in Massachusetts, would not deprive of the suffrage a single man who now enjoys it, because no man can enjoy the suffrage in Massachusetts who cannot read the State Constitution—and so, of course, the labels on ballot-boxes. North Carolina has just as much right to establish an educational test for the suffrage as Massachusetts, and Massachusetts holds it unsafe for herself to allow any man in the State to cast a ballot who cannot pass an educational test. In like manner, Massachusetts men—even so intense a partisan as Mr. George F. Hoar—have always held, even when such a stand

seemed against the advantage of their party, as was the case fifteen years ago, that no Territory like New Mexico should be admitted into the Union as a State where the census showed that a majority of the men could not pass an educational test, and consequently were unfitted, according to the traditional New England idea, to govern themselves and share in the government of the nation.

The danger about such a law as the new one in North Carolina is, that it will not be enforced impartially. It is charged that in South Carolina, where a similar system has been in operation for some years, illiterate whites are "steered" by the Democratic managers to the right ballot-boxes, so that their votes do not have to be cast out, while ignorant negroes are afforded no help, and stand six chances to one of making a mistake and thus practically losing the suffrage. In North Carolina, when the last census was taken, 23 out of every 100 white males above the age of twenty-one, and 76 out of every 100 colored males, were returned as unable to write, the percentage who were unable to read being slightly less for each race. A fair enforcement of the box law would thus debar from voting about one-fifth of the whites and more than three-fifths of the blacks, and it would be as greatly to the advantage of all the people in North Carolina if all such illiterates should impartially be denied the suffrage, as it is for the advantage of Massachusetts to deny all such illiterates a share in its government. The danger is that, where the whites control the election machinery, they will discriminate against the blacks. This danger always applies to any test for the suffrage. Apparently well authenticated complaints were made to us last fall that a judge of the United States District Court in New England, who is a strong Republican, discriminated against the Democratic party in the naturalization of foreigners, allowing anybody who was vouched for by a good Republican to slip through, while "holding up" a good many protégés of Democratic managers, who were equally deserving. The public opinion of the community is the only safe reliance for the overcoming of difficulties of this sort. A breaking down of old party lines on the race issue is impending throughout the South, and if the white Democrats in any county fail to enforce the new law impartially, an opposition party, led by whites, who can command a hearing, will be developed, which will secure fair play. Fortunately, with the steady extension of the school system, the number of voters of each race who cannot read the labels on the ballot-boxes will diminish steadily year by year.

The lower house of the Rhode Island Legislature has passed, by a vote of 41 to 25, a resolution to submit the question of repealing the present Prohibitory Liquor Law to a vote of the people. This large majority in favor of resubmission is strong evidence of the con-



dition of public opinion in the State concerning the law. There is no doubt that in the cities of the State the law is so complete a failure that a very large majority of the electors will favor its repeal, and it is believed that, if the Senate concurs with the House, as is probable, there will be a popular majority in the State against the law.

An interesting symposium upon the question of constitutional prohibition for Massachusetts has been published by the Cambridge *Tribune*, in which such high authorities as Prof. James B. Thayer, Col. T. W. Higginson, R. H. Dana, and William E. Russell take part. These gentlemen, who easily carry off the honors in the discussion, all unite in opposing the proposition for a prohibitory amendment. Their views are especially noteworthy, as nearly or quite all of them are supporters of the prohibitory law, which, our readers are aware, is being enforced with such signal success in Cambridge. Prof. Thayer is, in fact, the President of the Cambridge Association for the enforcement of the law, and has, he says, voted three times for prohibition in local elections. He says he is opposed to constitutional prohibition for three reasons, first, because it is a misuse of the Constitution; second, because "it is not the time to do the thing even if it should ever be done"; and third, because "prohibition in any form, except as a local and temporary policy, as a feeling of the way to something better, is but a poor mode of dealing with the liquor question." Col. Higginson says he shall vote against the amendment, although rather unwillingly, because it does not seem to him the best way of reaching the evil, adding: "Our present Local-Option Law appears to me far better, because, by the local agitation it affords, it educates the particular community which has got to enforce the law—that is, the town or city, as the case may be." Similar reasons are given by Messrs. Dana and Russell.

The Weldon Canadian Extradition Bill, which authorizes Canada to surrender to us fugitives from justice with or without an extradition treaty, is a new departure in modern international conduct. Treaties of extradition, as we now know them, with all their elaborate machinery, judicial and executive, are comparatively new contrivances. So late as 1827 the Provincial Court of Appeals for Lower Canada held that a fugitive accused of larceny in Vermont, and escaping across the border, could be surrendered without regard to the absence of a treaty covering the offence. But thirty-five years afterwards Lord Denman said in the British House of Lords that all Westminster Hall and the judicial bench agreed that, in England, there was no right of arrest or surrender of a fugitive from the justice of a foreign State, unless a treaty required it. Such limitations on the judicial power have not always been recognized in England. There are cases in the reports of Vesey and Taunton in

which the judges said the Government might send a prisoner to answer for a crime wherever committed. The power was recognized under the common law and under international law. But while, in modern times, England has said she would not surrender fugitives unless there be a treaty and a law authorizing and requiring, she asked Spain, in 1874, to surrender to her Bidwell, the bank forger, and Spain made the surrender, even although no treaty required it, just as she arrested and surrendered Tweed to us when no extradition treaty existed. And so, the other day, Spain arrested Pigott on a telegraphic message, and before formal papers had been received at Madrid. Spain proceeds on the rules of courtesy and comity which prevailed in the olden times in Europe, when sovereigns deemed themselves, in such matters, members of one family, and a request of that character was promptly complied with without a treaty and without judicial intervention. The surrender of Arguelles to Spain in 1864 by order of Seward is the only exception to the American rule prevailing from the foundation of our Government, that the President cannot arrest and surrender, in the absence of a treaty, or a law authorizing and requiring. Seward justified the arrest and surrender of Arguelles on the plea that they were in pursuance of the law of nations, which is by our Constitution made a part of our Federal law, which international law the President is bound to execute as a part of the Constitution.

The Copper Syndicate, notwithstanding the alleged contract made with the large American mining companies to restrict production, appears to be still "in the trough of the sea," now up and now down, one day sailing fairly well and the next day on beam-ends. A telegram from Paris says that the Syndicate received from the mines in the month of February 10,000 tons, and sold only 1,397 tons. At this rate even the Bank of France would be ruined in the end. Such an output of metal calls for more than \$2,000,000 per month to be absolutely locked up, and the interest on it lost, unless it can be recovered at the end of a doubtful speculation. No wonder that the depositors in the Comptoir d'Escompte made a rush for their money when the fact became known that M. Roschereau had lent \$6,000,000 of its funds to the Syndicate, and then shot himself through the head. Probably this institution will be helped through the crisis by the other banks, which have had no share in the copper speculation, but probably the credit of the Syndicate will be so tremendously shaken that it can get no more advances on its growing load of copper. It is for the public interest that the Société des Métaux should go under at an early date. If it should succeed in permanently cornering the world's supply of copper, there would be monopolies, or attempted monopolies, in lead, tin, zinc, sugar, tea, coffee, wheat, cotton, and every staple article, on a world-wide scale, and human

society would be divided into two classes, cornerers and cornered.

France has now got back the "scrutin d'arrondissement," or district-ticket system, which is relied on by the Republicans to save the Government from the Boulangists. The law was passed by both Chamber and Senate on the 13th, ultimo, and the next elections will be held under it. Every district is to elect at least one deputy; and any district having more than 100,000 of population, one deputy in addition for any fraction of 100,000 over the first. The only effect of this will be to prevent Boulangists from getting majorities in whole departments at elections held to fill one vacancy. It will not change in any marked degree the character of the Deputies, which is the source of all the trouble. It has been ascertained by actual experiment that the two kinds of tickets send up exactly the same kind of representative. The Republic is now seeking refuge in the *scrutin d'arrondissement* from exactly the same evils from which it sought refuge under Gambetta in the *scrutin de liste*, or general ticket. The only remedy which has not been tried is a recast of the national character. The Republicans in the Chamber, who overturn ministries once a month to gratify individual spites or disappointments, are bad enough; but are they as bad as the Royalists, who pretend to greater enlightenment, but do not hesitate, whenever the opportunity offers, to vote in any way that will ruin the only government France has, damage the national credit, and precipitate a revolution of which nobody pretends to foresee the outcome?

The abdication of King Milan of Serbia, if it has any political importance at all, will simply result in throwing the kingdom more completely than ever under Austrian domination—an almost necessary consequence of a regency which must last eight years, if the heir to the throne lives so long. Party spirit in Serbia runs very high, and politics are still in the primitive stage in which statesmen are accused of plotting the assassination of their rivals. This state of things was of course aggravated by the King's mental condition, which for a good while has bordered on lunacy. During the past year he has been kept in continual excitement by his desire to get rid of his wife, by his fear of the Radicals, and by the manufacture, under his personal supervision, of a new Constitution. The Constitution had just been drafted by the Commission of Revision when he made up his mind, or what passed for his mind, to abandon the throne. The Constitution is to be laid before an extraordinary meeting of the Skupshtina to be elected in September next, and to sit in October. Our readers have already been acquainted with its general character. What will become of it now it would be hard to say. That will probably depend on the view taken of it in Vienna.

## THE PARTY THINKERS.

ALL accounts from Washington agree that the pressure for offices was never so great as now. The *Tribune* calls it "tremendous." All the great improvements in communication, by land and sea, including the lowering of railroad and steamboat fares, and the extension of the telegraphic system, and the reduction in letter postage, and the rapid growth in population, combine to make the crowd of office-seekers in Washington greater than it ever was before. Senator Mander-son of Nebraska says the list of applicants from that State would be "a directory of the State." Senator Ingalls says that all the offices in the gift of the Administration would be insufficient to satisfy the demands of the candidates from Kansas. There is probably hardly a Republican State west of the Alleghanies of which the same story might not be told. The rush of the "place-hunters," which is the very appropriate old English name for them, is almost like the march of the Barbarians on Rome.

How President Harrison will stand it, remains to be seen, particularly as the office-seeking pressure is accompanied with endless handshaking with men who come "to pay their respects." Should the infliction grow with the population, the time cannot be far distant when the physical powers of the President will be the chief consideration in making the nomination, and when the successful candidate will have to go into training, as for a prize-fight or boat-race, between the first Tuesday in November and the 4th of March.

The President has thus far only made his peace with a few of the men of action of the party—that is, the men who raised money for the canvass, or took charge of its distribution, or constructed and carried through the various "deals" to which the success of the Republican ticket was due in some places. He has still to enter on the far more difficult task of rewarding the thinkers of the party—that is, the men who explained its policy and aims to the ministers, and the deacons, and the Sunday-school teachers, and the editors of the religious newspapers. This is a large and not easily satisfied body. It includes such men as Col. Elliott F. Shepard, the Hon. Whitelaw Reid, the Hon. Murat Halstead of the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, the Hon. Charles Emory Smith of the Philadelphia *Press*, Prof. Charles E. Fitch, Professor of Journalism in Cornell University, and the Hon. Thorndike Rice of the *North American Review*. We cannot recall at this moment any party which has commanded the service of so much talent of the intellectual sort as is represented by these few names. What it owes to them cannot be estimated either in money or in honors, but we are glad to hear that they are willing to accept foreign missions in discharge of the party obligations to them, and, in the language of the market, "call it square." Of course to call for testimonials in support of such claims would be rather absurd; but if President Harrison cares for them, we believe he will be more than satisfied by the readiness of all to join in recommending each one.

Mr. Reid has already testified in very strong terms to the commanding ability of Col. Shepard, and Col. Shepard has performed a similar office for Mr. Reid, and so have Mr. Smith and Prof. Fitch and Mr. Halstead, and so on. In fact, their endorsement of each other would bear a curious resemblance to the dancing figure known in the French tongue as "chassez-croisez." Mr. Rice has not fared so well as the others at the hands of his brethren, but this is doubtless because, as the editor of a monthly review, he lives in a more serene upper air than the daily journalists. But we question very much whether President Harrison is not really under greater obligations to him than to any of the others; for was he not the author of the article on "Maxims and Markets," in the *Review* of October last, in which he reported that famous conversation of his with an English statesman?

"Said a great English statesman and political economist to me, at the time of the resumption of specie payments: 'Why, it is contrary to all laws of political economy.'

"The American people,' I replied, 'do not care much for the laws of political economy; they have been making their laws for some time, and only look to results. The results have spoken for themselves.'

At any rate, they all want first-class missions, it is said, and Europe is waiting with considerable anxiety for the result of their efforts. The exact effect of the sudden influx of so much American mind into the diplomatic and court circles of that quarter of the globe of course cannot be foreseen, but every one must admit that it will be serious. The precise influence on Western thought of the flight of the Greek philosophers from Constantinople after the capture of that city by the Turks in 1453, has never been exactly defined, but every one acknowledges that it was great and far-reaching. And we may be sure the appearance of these journalists of ours in places like London, Vienna, Paris, Rome, and Berlin will have some profound and decisive influence on the intellectual and social conditions of those capitals.

In the meantime, we confess we consider the recent dead silence of Col. Elliott F. Shepard and of the Hon. Whitelaw Reid, in their respective journals, touching foreign missions, and the best manner of filling them, as an indication of too much delicacy of feeling. Of course no one would expect Col. Shepard to expatiate on his own fitness to represent a great Christian nation at the dissolute courts of London or Paris, but surely the Hon. Whitelaw Reid might do it for him in the columns of the *Tribune*. And, on the other hand, while the reticence of the *Tribune* touching the fitness of various persons, including Mr. Reid himself, to succeed Motley, and Adams, and Lowell, and Phelps in London is quite natural and creditable, why should Col. Shepard keep quiet about it, as far as regards Mr. Reid? If each of these gentlemen would speak his full mind about the other, it would not only be magnanimous and chivalrous, but would help Gen. Harrison greatly in making his choice; and Heaven knows he needs all the help he can get from any quarter.

## CONCERNING THE CUSTOM-HOUSE.

It is fair to suppose that the New York Custom-house will, according to long-standing usage, be one of the first things to occupy the attention of the new Administration. The Collectorship is one of the most valuable places in the gift of the President. The New York Custom-house is probably the largest and most important office of its kind in the world. "The greatest annual collection of customs duties at all the ports in the United Kingdom," we learn from the Centennial Handbook issued by the Naval Office, "was in 1859, when they aggregated £24,824,578, or \$120,810,008. The receipts from the same source at the port of New York alone were, in 1882, \$152,110,032." The amount of duties collected in this port in the year 1888 was \$140,880,080, or nearly two-thirds of the total revenue of the United States Government.

It will be easily seen from these figures that the management of this great public office must be, if not the chief concern, certainly one of the chief concerns, of the Secretary of the Treasury whoever he may be. We are not going now to discuss the question whether an agency of such importance should or should not be treated as political "spoils" and bestowed as the reward of partisan activity. Our opinions on this point do not need to be restated here. The matter to which we respectfully ask Secretary Windom's attention, is one which it will answer our present purpose to discuss from the point of view of those who think that such places in the Custom-house as are not covered by the Civil-Service Law should be treated as the means of paying for party service. There is no Secretary of the Treasury nowadays, whether he holds the spoils doctrine or not, who will not agree that the officers of such an establishment, no matter for what reason they get their appointments, should be intelligent, honest, and faithful men of good repute in the community, who would dread dismissal for other and better reasons than the mere loss of their salaries. One of the first duties of every Secretary, therefore, should be, as it seems to us, especially if his predecessor has belonged to the opposite party, to satisfy himself that the New York Custom-house is efficiently manned and its business conducted in an orderly and proper manner.

This investigation is the more imperatively called for at Mr. Windom's hands because of the fact—an unprecedented fact, we believe—that Mr. Fairchild, in the last months of his term, made and presented to the Senate a number of reports going to show that the customs service at this port, as well as others of minor importance, was grossly corrupt and inefficient; that many of its leading members had been for some time past concerned in the perpetration of enormous frauds in the revenue in complicity with a number of dishonest importers, and that there existed and exists here a criminal combination, known as "the sugar ring," made up in part of Custom-house officers and brokers and in part of sugar refiners, the object of which is to cheat the Government in



the valuation of imported sugars. These statements have been supported by the dismissal without trial of several officers of long standing in the service and hitherto of good repute. No such account of the condition of the public service has, we believe, ever before been given by any administration on retiring from office. In fact, it involves so much condemnation of the officer making it that we are warranted in describing it as a confession of failure and incompetency such as would almost warrant impeachment, because it has neither been accompanied nor preceded by any such criminal prosecutions as the law commands in all cases of detected frauds in the collection of customs duties.

We would therefore earnestly and respectfully suggest to Secretary Windom that it is his first duty, under these extraordinary circumstances, to institute a searching inquiry into the condition of the Custom-house, as described by his predecessor, for two specific reasons. The first, of course, and most imperative, is, that he may satisfy himself that proper machinery for the collection of the revenue exists in the Appraiser's Department—the most important of all. This has been described by Mr. Fairchild as the chief seat of the alleged frauds, and in the last months of his term he made an attempt to reform it by substituting several new officers for old ones whom he had discharged. But it is obvious that the judgment of an officer who permits fraud to prevail unchecked through his whole term is not to be implicitly relied on with regard to appointments any more than dismissals. It may be, for instance, that Mr. Stearns, who has taken Mr. McMullen's place at the head of the Appraiser's Department, is a more honest and efficient appraiser than Mr. McMullen, but we cannot be satisfied on this point with the testimony of a gentleman who during four years of administration failed, by his own admission, to find McMullen out. We need public investigation at the hands of a competent commission, like Secretary Sherman's, which should contain, we would suggest, one lawyer in good standing, one experienced business man of this city, not engaged in importation, and one business man from the West, without prejudices for or against custom-houses. They should, however, all three be men sufficiently conspicuous to command public confidence.

The second reason for instituting such an investigation is perhaps of not such direct importance to the Government as the first, but its indirect importance is very great. Our Government, like every other civilized government, is interested in attracting to its service, and especially to its fiscal service, capable men of good character. Even the most ardent advocate of the spoils system admits this. What he says when pushed to the wall on this point is, that as good men are obtainable under the spoils system as under any other. Now, one of the greatest defects of the spoils system lies in the arbitrary dismissals which form so prominent a feature in its working. It gets rid of public servants in much the same way—barring the strangulation—in which they used to be got rid of in old Turkey, and in which

they are still got rid of in modern Turkey, Spain, and Greece, and some other semi-barbarous countries. It kicks men out of office, no matter what their official value may be, if it finds it can turn the office to better account for party purposes. But one of the good features of the spoils system has been that peremptory dismissal, without cause assigned, does not convey an imputation on a man's character. To lose one's place in the Custom-house or Post-office has not hitherto meant that one was suspected of lying or stealing. It has been the custom, as well as the law of the service, whenever a man was accused of worse offences than drunkenness, or insubordination, or laziness, or absence without leave, or incompetency, to have him arrested, indicted, and prosecuted, or, in other words, to submit to a competent tribunal all charges reflecting on his integrity.

Now, we earnestly call Secretary Windom's attention to the fact that Mr. Fairchild has introduced into the service the practice of dismissing officers on charges of fraud without trial, and without giving them any opportunity to defend themselves. He has accused them of indictable offences in official reports which, as privileged communications, they could not attack in a court of law, thus sending them out into the world with a cloud resting on their reputation which must, in a large number of cases, seriously interfere with their obtaining other employment for the support of themselves or their families. It is hardly necessary to point out or expatiate on the effect this practice must, if not promptly extirpated, have in preventing respectable men, whose character is their chief capital, from entering the public service, especially in places in which character is so important as in the Appraiser's Department. A man possessing the qualifications, both moral and professional, needed for that department would be considered in the highest degree imprudent if he took a place in which, for instance, he would be exposed to the treatment Mr. Fairchild has dealt out to Mr. McMullen. If such treatment were to become part of the permanent official practice, the Custom-house would soon be manned in all its departments by the black sheep of the business world—men who had nothing to lose by slander, and to whom even a month's salary was of the last importance.

#### PHILADELPHIAN REFLECTIONS ON WANAMAKER.

MR. WHARTON BARKER, who is a good old-fashioned Pennsylvania protectionist, takes, in the last number of his *American*, much the same view of the Cabinet in general as most intelligent and self-respecting Republicans do. We cite him, however, not as an authority on the Cabinet in general, but on Mr. Wanamaker, the Postmaster General. We believe that what he says touching this particular selection expresses the sentiments of 90 per cent. of the respectable men of Philadelphia, the scene of Wanamaker's activities, both religious and secular. They believe, with Mr. Barker, that Wanamaker comes into office—"not upon his own merits, not as one equipped at all points for the direction of the vast

appointment system of the postal service, but as the agent of Mr. Quay and the representative of Mr. Quay's purposes."

And this Mr. Quay is the man of whom the *Philadelphia Press* said in 1885, when he was talked of for the State Treasurership, that his nomination "would take the lid from off the Treasury, and uncover secrets before which Republicans would stand dumb."

The "secrets" about Quay, before which Republicans would "stand dumb," are, we repeat, well known to scores of business men in Philadelphia. If they were not known to Wanamaker when he paid his campaign funds over to Quay, it would show that he was far too simple-minded and too remote from the currents of financial and political gossip to be fit to conduct his own great store, not to speak of the Post-office Department. The *Philadelphia Ledger*, which came to his defence against the *Evening Post* two months ago, was asked to say whether it thought Mr. Wanamaker was ignorant of Mr. Quay's character when he paid him the money; but that journal, which is much too respectable either to quibble or evade for anybody, has ever since kept dead silence about the matter—and in this case, as in many others, silence is confession.

The truth is, that Mr. Barker speaks the sober second thought of all that is best in the Republican party on this great scandal. General Harrison has committed the irretrievable fault of giving a Cabinet office to a man in return for money raised for campaign purposes, and not only this, but for money paid over to a politician whose dishonesty and corruption had already made him a byword in his own party. This is the first time such a thing has ever been done in American politics even by the worst men in our worst days. President Hayes incurred odium, of which he will never get rid as long as he lives, by rewarding with office the paltry scamps who were suspected of having dishonestly turned over to him the vote of the State of Louisiana, but the places he gave them were suited to their base obscurity. The elevation of Wanamaker is the first case on record in which a man has been invited to take a seat at the President's council board as his adviser on all the great national questions of war and peace, at the demand of a corruptionist, in return for money paid to a corruptionist. If we are not greatly mistaken, the case is aggravated by the knowledge which President Harrison now possesses of the circumstances under which Wanamaker tried unsuccessfully to raise \$400,000 in the last week of the canvass in this city—circumstances which throw a flood of light on the man's real character. The mistake of giving him a great office is, we repeat, radical and irretrievable. It is one of those which cannot be corrected or wiped out. It has stamped the Administration with an opprobrium which will grow worse as the years go by, and will cling to President Harrison after he leaves office.

We say all this with sincere regret, because in every attempt President Harrison makes to purify the civil service of the

Government, and abolish its corrupt connection with party politics, he has, and will have, our heartiest sympathy and support. But the Wanamaker incident must inevitably weaken the moral effect, as an example and precedent, of everything he does to improve our Governmental machinery. The worst men will rejoice in it most as showing that even in his most solemn moments he was not superior to the motives which govern their own conduct.

There is another aspect of the case which, delicate as it is, must be touched on. Gen. Harrison, who has done this thing, is a very religious man. Wanamaker, whom Quay has forced upon him, is another very religious man. Almost all the outspoken and hearty defence of the selection of Wanamaker has come from clergymen and religious newspapers. Almost all the foul abuse which has been heaped on the *Evening Post* for being the first and loudest to protest against it, has come from lips trained to prayer and praise. The worldlings explain this to us with a smile by telling us that Wanamaker and his kind, "the Pharisees," as Judge Gresham calls them, debase the clergy by their contributions to churches and Sunday-schools, and debase the religious newspapers by their "ads." If this be not true, it looks so like the truth, there are so many facts which give color and plausibility to it, that it has obtained a lodgment in the popular mind which cannot be shaken. And we should like to ask those religious men, both clergy and laity, who are troubled by the decline of church influence in this city and elsewhere, and by the growth of agnosticism and indifference, and who meet every now and then to debate its causes, whether they have ever seriously considered the effect on doubters, unbelievers, and scoffers, of the spectacle, so frequent in our days, of corruptionists of every description using the church and the Sunday-school and the religious press as a sort of fortified camps from which to make raids on the things which all civilized societies hold dearest? If they have not, they cannot begin to ponder it too soon. It is to-day by far the greatest enemy with which the Church has to contend in this country. Nothing is easier for a large class among us than to give lavishly in checks to religious objects, and nothing more disheartening for those who are trying to raise the standard of political morality than to find these checks flourished in their faces as answers to charges of the most barefaced corruption.

#### A PRACTICAL COMMENTARY ON HENRY GEORGE'S LAND THEORIES.

IN the latter part of 'Progress and Poverty,' the author urges that private property in land is unnecessary because there have been so many cases where a different system has been in operation. His argument is that public ownership is perfectly practicable, because nearly every country has tried it and given it up. He does not inquire why people gave it up, nor does he seem to think that this point has any material bearing on the argument,

It so happens that we have in the United States to-day one case, of considerable importance, where people are trying to manage real estate on mediæval methods. This is seen in the oyster beds of Chesapeake Bay, as regulated by the laws of Maryland. In a recent number of the *Baltimore Sun*, Mr. John K. Cowen describes the methods in force and their industrial effects. The existing condition he describes as follows:

"Certain ill-defined and ill-bounded parts of the Chesapeake and its tributaries and of other oyster grounds are set apart for dredging. Certain other portions are set apart for 'tonging,' and dredging therein is prohibited. There is also a right given to individuals to take up five acres of land under water forming no part of a natural bed of oysters; but the title to the five acres seems to be a license only, revocable at the pleasure of the State, and the licensee has no assurance of a permanent holding to warrant his going to expense and trouble. For any large purpose the '5-acre' legislation is practically worthless."

It will be seen that this is almost exactly the system of the mediæval village, with its ill-defined common, its ill-defined forest-land, and its extremely precarious rights of use of individual strips of the soil. We know from history what was the result to the mediæval village. The system prevented the population from getting a large and comfortable living from the land. Agriculture remained in the rudest condition. The soil was not improved, because nobody could afford to spend his energies in a way for which he himself personally could obtain no return. The only way to have the land properly and intelligently tilled, with a view to the future as well as to the present, was by private ownership. The communities which introduced this system prospered; those which refused to see its advantages fell behind. It was by a process of natural selection that private ownership of agricultural land was thus introduced. Without it, investment of capital was impossible. By the aid of such investment a larger population could be supported in better comfort.

It is striking how this history is repeating itself in the case of the oyster-beds of the Chesapeake. Prof. Brooks's report on the subject in 1884, supplemented by Mr. Cowen's observation, reveals the following facts:

(1.) That the oyster-beds of the State are being exhausted so rapidly that in a few years more this industry, in spite of natural advantages, will practically cease to exist.

(2.) That the system not merely is destructive in itself, but stands in the way of enormous possible development. The oyster fishermen have never earned much more than \$2,000,000 a year, but it is no exaggeration to say that the Maryland grounds, under proper legislation, are capable of yielding tens of millions of dollars annually. New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut have laws which make intelligent and far-sighted oyster farming a possibility. Fifty thousand acres of barren ground in Long Island Sound have been made into productive oyster beds. Even when the administration of these laws has been intrusted to unwise authorities, it has not prevented the public as a whole from

reaping the benefits of the system of private ownership. The production of the oyster has been multiplied a hundred fold. Meantime, the Maryland oyster men have been engaged in petty squabbles among themselves, and the whole industry has been falling behind. Prof. Brooks says that the departure of the oyster industry from Maryland to Connecticut in the near future is a certainty, unless Maryland adopts measures similar or equivalent to those which have in a few years raised the oyster grounds of that State from a position of insignificance to the front rank. Chief among these measures have been laws defining and protecting rights of private property.

(3.) While the attempt to keep these grounds as public property has prevented the proper development of the industry, it has also had an unfavorable effect on Maryland's State finances. Six hundred thousand acres of oyster ground in 1883 were paying only \$70,000 a year in taxes, while the Governor of Rhode Island about the same time reported a return to his State of over \$11,000 from 1,100 acres of oyster ground, none of which was naturally so valuable as that of Maryland. On this basis, the revenue of Maryland should have been \$6,000,000 a year from this source instead of \$70,000.

It is of course conceivable that new methods might be adopted and the industry developed by direct and positive State action, instead of through the aid of private capitalists, but the chance of success in this direction is small. "France," says Mr. Cowen, "tried this Government cultivation of oysters under the most favorable circumstances, the best scientific talent, a better organized civil service than ours, and with a popular opinion supporting State interference in industrial pursuits to an extent unknown among us; but the experiment failed, and failed for the reason that it must always fail, because, as pithily stated in one of the reports of the French Commission, the State is the poorest merchant in France."

We commend the study of this case to the land reformers. It is not an unfair instance. It does not stand alone. It represents a natural tendency in civilized society. With rude agriculture, rude mining, or rude oyster-farming, common ownership of land has been possible and has prevailed. But the moment the progress of invention made it profitable to apply capital to land, the legal system had to adapt itself to the new conditions. When permanent buildings were developed, permanent tenure of home lots became a legal necessity. When manure was invented, the same process was applied to agriculture. When mining machinery superseded primitive washing or digging, the same reform took place in the mining laws. The case of the oyster farms of Maryland is simply another instance of the universal law.

#### THE CHURCH AND THE THEATRE.

IT looks as if Macaulay's Puritan were fumbling at the doors of the theatre which he so incontinently locked at the time of the Commonwealth, when we find a prominent divine publicly praising a certain play, and advising



people to go to see it—especially when, as is the case, it is a member of that denomination the Presbyterian, which stands most distinctly to-day for the Puritan tradition. It would be hasty to infer from this a recognition on the part of the lineal descendants of the Puritans that they have really been in the prison-house of the spirit, where Matthew Arnold located them, and that their ideal of life has been found out to be one of hideousness and immense ennui, as the same writer declared it to be. The Puritan never felt that to be true, or he would have ceased to be a Puritan, and the fact we cite is only another instance of the tardy acquiescence of the clergy in a practice which the laity have established in the face of constant clerical protests; for, just as there is no doubt that the churches represent the best elements of society, so there is no doubt that Mr. Daly is right in his frequent assertion that the best elements of society now patronize the theatre. The old ecclesiastical statutes against theatre-going remain unrepealed, though the younger generation of church-members have so little reason to know of their existence that they may be almost acquitted of violating them; and the attitude of the clergy is getting to be the one made familiar in the cases of other amusements—after protests unavailing, then winking at the evil, and, finally, a qualified permission of what they long ago ceased to be able to prevent.

This has a certain social interest, though it is an old story now; but much more interesting is the growing tendency to claim for the Church a large part of the credit for the admitted elevation of the stage in the last thirty years. That is to say, it is maintained that the resolute hostility of the Church to the theatre of a generation ago helped the public to discriminate between good and bad drama, forced managers to cater to a taste which was higher than prevailing standards, and so brought about the immense change to be noted in the English stage since, for example, the first edition of Lewes's 'Actors and Acting.' Look at the theatre of forty years ago, say the apologists, when church-people were standing aloof, and then see how things are changed to-day, when unobjectionable plays are witnessed by so many church-people. Indeed, it does not require a great stretch of the imagination to see a grand apologetic argument made out, fifty years from now, along the lines of those which are already familiar, setting forth the purifying and elevating power of the Church over a social institution, originally its own, but fallen into debasement, brought back again at last to harmlessness and even to its own service. The fact that such an argument is only beginning to be written, enables us to see the measure of truth and force in it better than would be possible after it had passed into the treatises on the "evidences."

That it would have an element of truth must be conceded. Hostility to that which is low in taste and bad in morals cannot but do good, and the more organized and powerful the hostility, the better the effect. But the hostility of the Church to a debased theatre is not the only hostility that institution

has had to encounter, nor the most effective. It would be hard to name a distinctly ecclesiastical writer who ever whipped the theatre of the Restoration with such vigorous strokes as Macaulay's, or pricked it with such keen satire as Thackeray's; or one who had harder things to say of the degenerate stage of the middle of this century than Lewes—and none of these critics could be called exactly evangelical in belief. And the weakness of the denunciations directed against the theatre by the Church is, that they have been almost always sweeping and wholesale; that they have professed to see no possibility of improvement, and have gone in for root-and-branch methods. Now that attitude never can provoke amendment. The censor who points out a better way at the same time that he denounces the bad way, is the only one who will be listened to while he smites; others will be set down as mere scolds. And it is clearly to the faithful wounds of such friends, and to the general amelioration of manners and taste, that improved theatrical standards are due, rather than to the steady opposition and aloofness of the Church as such. That the Church has had a large part in bringing in the day of bettered manners and higher taste is, of course, true, and in this way it has indirectly done much to benefit the theatre; yet, even so, only as one of many conspiring influences.

There may be a hint in this line of remark at the processes which have been at work in building up the famous apologetic arguments for Christianity long since made up and in the books. They have been stated as fairly and intelligently by Lecky and Ullhorn and Brace as by any one, to the general effect, as is well known, that the great enlargement of the spirit of humanity which is admitted on all hands to have taken place is the direct and exclusive effect of the Christian religion. It was a favorite thesis of Heine that this conclusion was radically wrong, and Frederic Harrison takes up a frequent parable against it in our own days. We are probably too far removed from the facts ever to be certain of their exact causes and effects; but, if we may judge the past by the present, it may well be believed that the apologists have been too confident and exclusive. They have forgotten that the Church, wide and deep as has been its influence, does not, after all, embrace the whole of the activity of man and the development of society. At any rate we can see, in the case in hand, that they will be greatly overdoing their part if they assert for the Church more than a partial effect among the influences that have brought about the better days of the stage.

#### AMERICAN HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS IN FOREIGN ARCHIVES.

ALASSIO, February 14, 1889.

THE mention in a recent number of the *Nation* (No. 1236) of the project of Mr. B. F. Stevens for publishing photographic facsimiles of various historical and diplomatic documents relating to the United States in the English and other foreign archives, and especially the lack of attention bestowed by Congress upon his previous plans for printing and indexing,

lead me to believe that the importance of this subject has not been sufficiently understood by cultivated Americans who are not active members of historical societies or habitual readers of historical magazines.

But before speaking of the wealth of documents relating to our historical period now existing in foreign archives, and unknown to Americans, or to all save a very few students who have had the money and the leisure to pursue their investigations in Europe, it may be worth while to say a few words about the present condition of archive study in general, and of what foreign governments have done in this respect.

The study of history, as well as the manner of writing it, has entirely changed during the present century. Up to a certain time historians felt it their duty laboriously to consult all the works of their predecessors in the same line, and to treat their statements and arguments as though they were so many original authorities. There was little study of the original sources except so far as concerned ancient history, and even there such study was confined to the classical historians, with little reference to coins, inscriptions, and other side-lights; every writer was considered in one way equal. In other words, criticism of authorities had scarcely been introduced. During this century—we might almost say during the last fifty years—all this has been changed. A school of historians arose, which speedily found support in all countries, showing that the only real way of studying history of any kind, whether ancient or modern, was in going as close to the original sources as possible. For modern history this has meant very much the study of archives, and most governments have responded to the call of inquirers and historical students in throwing open the collections of public documents entrusted to their care. These are no longer considered as secrets which are only to be communicated to men who happen to be in office at the time, unless they refer to matters of very late date; and, under certain restrictions, they have gradually been opened to the general public. They are not open in the same sense that a public library is open. It is necessary to obtain permission, for which it is requisite to present some guarantee of the serious purpose with which the studies are undertaken, and some surveillance is usually exercised to see that manuscripts are not carried off. But in most countries these restrictions are only such as are applied to the study of old manuscripts in any great library. It may be said here that most European countries are in this respect more liberal than the United States, where the documents in the possession of the State Department are guarded most jealously, and it is very difficult to obtain permission to see them. Some amusing examples of these difficulties were given by the late Frederick Kapp, who, when writing his life of Baron Steuben, was refused permission to consult the papers about him in our national archives.

Most European archives have been carefully arranged of late years in rooms which permit of easy access to them, with additional rooms for the purposes of historical study; and nearly all of them have also been well indexed, so that it is possible for the archivist to place at once his hands on any document. I can speak with regard to this positively, because I have studied in the archives of Paris, the Hague, Vienna, Moscow, Venice, and various former Italian capitals. At the Hague perhaps the authorities were too lax, for I was left alone for hours in a room filled with documents, with no one to supervise me. The most comfortable place

was Moscow, where all the documents relating to foreign affairs are preserved down to the beginning of the present century (the later ones being in St. Petersburg) in a building recently erected for that purpose. More than this, European governments have begun a system of publishing portions of their archives, in some cases the older ones, which are more difficult to decipher and ought not to be too much handled, and in others those pertaining to historical periods of very general interest; and they are trying to complete the public documents in their own possession by others relating to them in foreign archives.

Taking things at haphazard, when the French began to consider that Russian affairs were worth investigating, they found that the Imperial Public Library at St. Petersburg possessed a large number of French archives, which, when they were pillaged during the Revolution, had been bought up by the Russian Ambassador, Prince Vorontsov; and during the time that I was living at St. Petersburg a number of persons were kept copying these documents for the purpose of restoring the series of French archives. Even before that, owing to M. Guizot, there had begun the publication of a "Collection de Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France," of which a thousand copies were printed at Government expense, but of which only two hundred were offered for sale. This publication began in 1836, and down to 1875 175 quarto and folio volumes had been published. Then there were the series of Petiot and other memoirs, partly supported by Government. Armand Baschet, Frédéric Masson, and Albert Sorel have published much about the archives of foreign affairs; and in the last few years there has been begun, under Government supervision, the publication of the instructions to ambassadors in various countries, of which five volumes have been published with regard to Austria, Sweden, Portugal, and Poland. Besides this the École des Chartes, from which most French archivists are now drawn, has printed many documents relating to purely French historical manuscripts.

In Belgium the Royal Commission for the publication of the ancient Laws and Ordinances has published, down to 1879, about fifty-six volumes. In Italy, apart from the work of the various private historical societies and those partly belonging to the Government and the Historical Institute, the reports of Venetian ambassadors to various States in Italy and abroad have been published; which from 1839 to 1863 amounted to fifteen large volumes. In Spain forty-two octavo volumes were published between 1866 and 1884, under the head of "Collection of unpublished Documents relative to the Discovery, Conquest, and Organization of the former Spanish Possessions of America and Oceania, drawn from the Archives of the Kingdom, and more especially the Indies." In addition to this series, seventy-seven octavo volumes were published between 1842 and 1881, called "Unpublished Documents of the History of Spain." Even Rumania, on becoming independent, immediately set about learning its past history. Baron Hormuzaki, who had been employed in the Austrian Foreign Office, had taken advantage of his position to copy out from the archives all of the documents which he found there relating to Rumanian affairs. These, on his death, were bequeathed to the Rumanian Government, and have been published, and include important information relative to Turkey and Russia, containing among other things detailed reports of the defeat of Peter the Great on the Pruth. In addition to this, the agents of the Rumanian Government have copied out in the archives of Ve-

nice and Rome, and are doing it now in other countries, all that relates to Rumania, several volumes of which have been already printed.

In Russia, since the archives have been opened, the study of history, and especially of historical documents, has obtained a great development. The Archaeographical Commission, a Government body, has printed a large number of volumes, chiefly of early historical documents. The Imperial Historical Society, of which the present Emperor was President until his accession, now succeeded by the Grand Duke Vladimir, has published already sixty-three volumes since the year 1867, nearly all of which are drawn from Russian and foreign archives, including the despatches of the English, French, Dutch, Saxon, Prussian, and Austrian Ministers to their own governments from the earliest times. These are given in the original with a Russian translation. Private individuals, like Turgeneff and like Theiner, partly with the help of the Government, have published documents relating to Russia found in the library of the Vatican; and now Father Pierling, a Russian Jesuit, is following in the same track, after ransacking not only all the public archives, but all the private and family archives in Italy accessible to him. There are, besides, at least three historical journals entirely devoted to historical material—sometimes merely diaries and journals, and at others articles made up from recollections and reminiscences: the *Russkii Arkhiv*, the *Russkaya Starina*, and the *Istoricheski Vestnik*.

In England, where the prejudices in favor of the secrecy of historical documents remained longer than in most countries, the Government has now set to work with good will. One hundred and twenty-seven volumes have been published of "Calendars of State Papers," which are so full as almost to supply the place of complete documents. They were begun in 1856. Of these there is a domestic series—one relating to Scotland, one relating to Ireland; a colonial series, which extends to 1668 only; a foreign series, which goes to 1577; Treasury papers and Home Office papers. Then there are the "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages," of which there are seventy-four distinct works, many of them in several volumes. Besides this must be mentioned the publications of the Record Commissioners, the Scotch and the Irish record publications; and we should not forget the various reports of the Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission, the object of which is to catalogue and summarize all the important documents relating to English history in the archives of private families.

In our country the colonial and regional history naturally fell to the lot of the States, and both legislatures and historical societies have done all that was incumbent upon them. In New York, for instance, the State sent Mr. Romeyn Brodhead to collect documents in Holland, France, and England, and printed ten volumes and an index of these documents, under the title of "Colonial History," for which, altogether, over \$160,000 was expended. Of the first seven volumes five thousand copies each were printed. This is exclusive of the expense incurred for publishing four volumes of "Calendars of Historical Manuscripts," four volumes of "Documentary History," and three volumes of "Colonial History," all the materials for which existed already in the State archives.

The Federal Government began also by doing well. It purchased the papers of Washington for \$45,000, those of Monroe for \$20,000, and those of Hamilton for \$26,000, including the expenses of publication, as well as large collec-

tions of papers of Jefferson, Madison, and John Adams, the last great acquisition in this line being those papers of Franklin, preserved in England, which have recently been turned to very good use by historical students. Besides this, the Government printed the proceedings of the convention which formed the Constitution, and the secret journals of the old Congress, at an expense of \$10,542; the "Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution," edited by Jared Sparks, which was originally printed in Boston in 1829 and 1830, in twelve volumes, at a cost of \$50,000, and was subsequently reprinted at Washington in 1857 in six volumes; the diplomatic correspondence from 1783 to 1789, printed at Washington in 1833 and 1834, in seven volumes, at a cost of over \$16,000, and reprinted in 1837, in three volumes; the diplomatic correspondence from 1789 to 1828, entitled "American State Papers, Class I, Foreign Relations," which was published in six volumes at Washington, from 1833 to 1859; and the collection of "American Archives" edited by the late Peter Force, of which nine volumes were published at Washington between 1837 and 1848, at a cost of over \$236,000. The State Department possesses also a large mass of other papers relating to our Revolutionary history which are almost unknown, owing to the want of funds for indexing them, and the restrictions on the study of historical students; and, among a mass of other material, all the journals, law books, etc., of the Russian-American Company, which are very important for the history of the whole Pacific Coast, and ought by all means to be readily accessible.

Most of what has been mentioned the Government was able to do before the war, when its resources were much more limited than at present; and even then it spent by no means as much for illustrating its physical conditions and natural productions, in the shape of travels, surveys, and explorations under the charge of the War, the Navy, and the Interior Departments.

In various European archives there still exists a mass of matter practically, and in many cases wholly, unknown in America, the careful study of which would throw an entirely new light on many events in our early history. Mr. Bancroft, in his preliminary studies for his history, made and had made copious extracts from the papers to which he obtained access; but many have become accessible and even known since that time. Mr. Henry Adams, too, possesses copies of very many foreign state papers relating to American history during the early part of the present century. Even should these collections come into the possession of the State Department or of the National Library, they would be imperfect. Unfortunately, it is not easy for students of American history to visit European capitals with sufficient means and leisure, as well as official introductions, to enable them to study the archives thoroughly. Some of them find it difficult to make a prolonged stay for such a purpose even at Washington, Boston, or Albany; and it is of importance, therefore, not only that our Government should acquire everything which can throw a light on the history of our country, but that all of this should be printed, so as to be widely accessible.

Before, however, speaking in detail of what exists in Europe in manuscript, it should be mentioned that much which has been printed in Europe is practically unknown and can with difficulty be found in America. I refer especially to *blue-books* of various kinds; that is, publications of official papers and reports by foreign governments, either relating to diplo-



matic negotiations, or simply the reports of consuls on trade and finance, which are interesting and even important as the work of independent trained observers. As to the diplomatic papers printed in various forms, the most of them do not appear in any American collection. The only things, for instance, common to the English and our diplomatic correspondence are the treaties, memorandums, and protocols, and the actual despatches exchanged between the officials of the two Governments. The covering despatches and the instructions of an English minister, for example, would not appear in papers sent to Congress by the President and then printed. It would be a useful and profitable exercise on the part of some historical student who could obtain access to a complete collection of English state papers and blue-books, to index and catalogue all those relating to the United States. A complete series of English blue-books may exist in the Library of Congress; but it does not exist in the library of the State Department, or did not at least exist there three years ago, when I last had the opportunity of consulting it.

To proceed to details. The collection of papers relating to our Revolutionary history in the Russian archives at Moscow is probably the least important, although by no means the least interesting. I was myself enabled to consult them, and published a partial account of them in the *Nation* of June 11, 1868. The papers relating directly to the mission of Mr. Dana are few and unimportant; but the despatches of the Russian ambassadors at Paris, London, and the Hague are full of interesting details of the movements and activity of the American agents, and of the relations of England towards her revolted colonies. By order of Catherine II., the Russian Ambassador at Paris employed a special agent at Philadelphia, who transmitted on all possible occasions accounts of what was going on in America, including details and even plans of the various battles.

Similar reports are said to exist in the archives of Berlin, and in those of Hanau, Brunswick, Waldeck, Bayreuth, and other places. There are many documents relating to the employment of German troops during the Revolutionary War, some of which were consulted by Max von Eelking in his book 'Die Deutsche Hilfstruppen im Nord-Amerikanischen Befreiungs-Kriege.'

In Spain it was not known, until Mr. Stevens's searches, that any papers existed earlier than 1790; but he found in Alcalá, Seville, and Simancas an immense correspondence between Spain, France, Holland, and England, of which some papers are of great value, and throw unexpected light on the action of France and Spain. In Holland there are many original documents which have never been collated, and perhaps have never been seen since their *précis* were made and filed. These *précis* or proceedings of the States-General alone have been copied and used by historians. Of these printed *précis* a good collection exists in our State Department.

The French archives contain the correspondence between the French Government and the French ministers in Philadelphia, as well as with the American commissioners; and the correspondence of the French admirals and generals with their Government and with the American military and civil authorities; together with the journals of the men-of-war, which gave not only the nautical intelligence, but the most minute details of life and society in the colonies. The correspondence of De Grasse, Rochambeau, Barras, Lafayette, John Paul Jones, Franklin, Arnold, Fleury, Greene,

Hancock, Laurens, Washington, and others is voluminous. These documents are of very great importance. There is also the correspondence between the French and the Spanish Governments on all the questions relating to the independence of the American colonies; among which are very many letters which were considered so private that Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, translated them himself.

Naturally, the documents preserved in England are by far the most important to us, as it is necessary for any historian to see both sides of the question. Besides diplomatic correspondence with other governments during the American Revolution preserved at the Foreign Office (and until 1783 this includes correspondence with European governments only), there are the various documents in the Public Record Office, now gathered together from the various offices of the Crown; and those relating to America alone, from the earliest times down to the year 1783, fill seven hundred volumes. They include the military correspondence and reports, and the relations between the colonies and the Board of Trade and the other departments of the Government. In addition to these, there are the papers preserved in the British Museum, in the Royal Institution, in the Lansdowne, Germaine, Dartmouth, Auckland, and Carlisle papers—and those of other private families whose members were more or less concerned with American affairs, not all of which are yet brought to light. For the twelve years from 1772 to 1784 Mr. Stevens, who has for the last twenty-five years been engaged in searching for such documents, has catalogued or triply indexed over one hundred and twenty thousand different papers, few of which have ever been published or consulted, and many of which are entirely unknown. He has enjoyed unusual facilities for his researches; and as a former official of the State Department, who, when in London on an official mission, was deputed by the State Department to investigate what Mr. Stevens had done, says: "Probably no one will ever possess better means than his for getting access to the papers. Perhaps no one hereafter will ever gain these facilities. Indeed, privileges have been granted him in order that the work may be done once for all, and that a period may be put to casual demands"; and he reported substantially as follows:

"First, that the papers and data which Mr. Stevens had gathered are indispensable for the history of the United States. Secondly, the work has been done, and thoroughly done, by the most careful and admirable systems, and it is not a question of future accomplishment. Thirdly, the collection is exhaustive, not only of single documents and facts, but all obtainable copies of each have been collated with the standard original, and all statements of facts have been compared. So far as possible the history, uses, and influence of each paper have been recorded."

The proposal of Mr. Stevens for making transcripts of the documents existing in the English archives was strongly supported by Mr. Lowell when Minister at London, by Mr. Evarts when Secretary of State, and by Mr. Frelinghuysen when Secretary of State; and both in 1883 and 1884 the matter was warmly recommended to the Library Committee of the Senate.

For the sake of showing what the work was like, Mr. Stevens deposited in the State Department a collection of papers, including the Clinton-Cornwallis controversy contained in thirty-seven volumes, and amounting to 10,000 neatly written pages. These were offered for sale to the Government in case Congress should appropriate the money. Mr. Bayard, following the example of his predecessors, and sup-

ported by various historical societies and historical scholars, warmly recommended not only this purchase, but the furtherance of the other projects of Mr. Stevens. Although all these recommendations have been published, and in some cases have been made by the Library Committees of several Congresses, nothing has been done. The reasons for this are easy, and yet somewhat difficult to give. It is rarely that any private bill, or one that appears to be such, can be put through Congress without the aid of an experienced lobbyist—which costs money. Not that there is need of bribery, but because some one interested in the bill must be constantly on the spot, and watch for all opportunities of bringing it forward; unless, indeed, some Senator or member of Congress should be so interested in the purpose of the bill as to do it *pro bono publico*. It is simply the fault of the system caused by the present rules.

Possibly there may be other reasons; for it is an open secret that there is a little jealousy between the Congressional Library and the State Department as to the possession of archives, documents, and materials for history; and there are two or three collections of manuscripts, and copies made by individual historians, which will sooner or later be offered to the Government for purchase. It is probably safe to say that none of these collections are complete, or that the papers contained in them have been copied with guarantees for accuracy.

The failure of Congress to give attention to the recommendations of the State Department on this subject has caused Mr. Stevens to modify his scheme, and to propose now a series of photolithographic copies of the original documents. There can thus be no question of accuracy in copying or proof-reading, and the student has the advantage of seeing the exact handwriting, erasures, interlineations, and signatures. My own experience in the study of Russian history has taught me that the sight of the original documents, with their changes and annotations in different handwritings, is of far more use than the study of printed copies. You see the original idea, the changes which it went through, and the reticences which are sometimes observed when these papers were read to the monarch or the prime minister. Photolithographic copies are in every sense equal to the originals, with the additional advantage that the student who possesses them or has easy access to them, is not obliged to make long and expensive journeys, or to wait for permissions which perhaps may be good for only two or three hours in a day, in order to find what he is in quest of. He can study at his leisure and at his own time, and can compare the documents drawn from the archives of one country with those coming from another source. I find that the cost of one hundred facsimiles of this kind is about equal to the cost of one hundred well-printed copies; and Mr. Stevens calculates that, at the price which he has fixed, the sale of a hundred copies would reimburse him for his money outlay—his time and experience not being taken into consideration. Surely, with all the libraries, the historical students, and the historical collections, it ought to be easy to obtain subscriptions for the necessary hundred copies. Our Government, however, ought to take at least fifty copies, either included in or additional to this number; partly for the use of the State Department, as completing our archives; for that of the Congressional Library, for the use of historical students, and for the purpose of presenting to foreign governments, in return for the expensive publications which are sent to us—because this series of papers has for them a more direct

interest than the volumes of the Geological Survey or those printed by the Smithsonian Institution—and partly for distribution to the libraries of meritorious but poor colleges. Every university and every college in the country, every historical society, and every State library, should possess at least one copy.

EUGENE SCHUYLER.

#### SELINUS AND SEGESTA.

PALERMO, February 4.

In all the legends of the Greek cycle there is nothing more dramatic than the history of the two cities which, by the monuments of their antique glory, most attract the modern wanderer in the western half of Sicily. It is like the feud of Agamemnon and Achilles. Why Selinus, a great and powerful city, with a large command of the sea and a territory even now of surpassing richness (though its soil is burned by a summer sun utterly untempered by forest shade, and the fertility drained by centuries of the most primitive culture, so that the river which once flowed through it and made its port is buried in drifting sands), should have held such bitter and implacable hostility to the little mountain town, perched on almost inaccessible and now utterly barren heights, is difficult to conjecture, unless it be purely in the contentious nature of the Hellenic race—envious, cruel, malignant, never able to see with content the prosperity even of their friends. Their territories were contiguous, but that of Selinus is a broad plain extending back from the sea many miles, and probably including all the level country, for within a few weeks there has been found a hidden treasure near Castel Vetrano, at the edge of the plain, which was composed in great part, if not entirely, of archaic coins of this city. And certainly, with her dominant power, and always the aggressor, the mountaineers had hard fare, and finally, unable to sustain the contest or to placate the enemy, turned to Athens, as the then head of the race, for support. This led to the war between Athens and Syracuse, which latter city favored Selinus, and so finally to the prostration of Athens, as we all know who have read the history of Greece.

But the woes imposed on Sicily were far more disastrous, for when the help of Athens had come to naught, and the Selinuntines were still inexorable, Segesta called on the Carthaginians, who sent Hannibal with a vast force (for Carthage is just across the narrow sea of Tunis, a hundred miles away), and assaulted Selinus with great fury, being, as a good general, aware of the value of time, and how important it was to anticipate the arrival of the always tardy Greeks from Agrigentum. After a ten days' siege, in which the hapless Selinuntines showed the courage of desperation, and in which they had every day to repel a new assault of Hannibal's barbarians, aided by battering rams and assaulting towers, a breach was effected, and the combat carried on through the streets, over barricades and through the houses, till nearly the entire population was put to the sword—twenty-six hundred only, we are told, escaping to Agrigentum, and five thousand women being carried off as slaves. The wrath of the Carthaginian general at the costly resistance left no stone of the city standing on another except those of the temples. It is recorded that the Greek cities sent to Hannibal, asking him to spare the temples of the gods, which were of great richness, as we can even now perceive, and he replied that the gods had abandoned Selinus. But that he did not destroy the temples, we now discover, for,

in the recent excavations which have entirely cleared the ruins of the city proper, it is found that before the columns fell the soil had accumulated to a considerable height around them, so that they lie as they fell on a ridge of earth.

This punishment of Selinus was only the pretext for the subjugation of the Greek cities, of which Segesta was one of the first to pay the penalty of calling in the stranger. They are now only two varied types of desolation. Selinus, as seen from a distance, is but a mass of building material. The two low ridges on which the city was built, or perhaps on one of which the city proper stood and on the other only an hieron, is each crowned by confused piles of drums of columns and stones of the walls of the cellas of the temples. The greatest had never been completed; but there is evidence that it had been used for worship before its destruction, and that a part of the cella had been raised. The columns were not yet fluted, as this was done only when the construction was otherwise finished. This temple has not yet been excavated, but will be taken in hand when the present excavations of the city walls and necropolis are done. The temples of the citadel are now entirely cleared, but in them as in those on the other side of the river there is hardly one drum of a column left on another. Only a small portion of a small temple suggests the Nike Apteros at Athens, having a part of its wall standing. At the entrance of the necropolis is a small building which the first excavators considered a temple, but which now turns out to be a propylea to the necropolis. In it were found hundreds of lamps of a peculiar pattern for the tombs, and the little votive heads, all of terracotta. The clearing of this ruin is not yet complete, and much new light on the nature of the funeral rites may be expected from the work to be done on this and on the necropolis in general. Of the port and emporium of Selinus not a trace is to be seen. The river sinks into the sands before it reaches the sea, and the drifts of the invading element have buried everything that belonged to them. The ruins still abound in the wild celery, the *σέλινον*, from which the name of the city is supposed to be derived, and which is nothing like parsley, as the representation on the coins would have shown any one, but is simply the uncultivated celery, as both the form and taste of the leaf show.

For the seeker of the picturesque there is absolutely nothing at Selinus. The site is the bluff which terminates the plain, and looks out on the African Sea with no elevation above the surrounding country. Such a site the Greeks would only have chosen when they had perfected a system of fortification which enabled them to dispense with the advantages of a position made inaccessible by nature. For the archaeologist and those who are interested in the military engineering of the Greeks, there is an immense field of study yet to be uncovered; but the tourist will only find the satisfaction of having seen the desolation of one of the most markedly individual of Greek cities. There is no evidence of the temples having been overthrown by man; but, on the contrary, the bases of the columns show that the effect of time and the elements has been to make their supporting surface so small that they must have fallen by their own gravity if not by the shock of an earthquake. As an architectural problem, there is the occurrence, in two examples, of an arch of perfect form, but not even hinting at the principle of the keyed construction, being simply cut in a solid parallelepiped of stone, as if to make the door in which it occurs higher for goers in or out. There is here no question of its being of Roman make, for

the Romans had no footing in the island till long after this must have been made.

To Segesta the road lies for nearly twenty miles through the plain, and then we come abruptly into the hilly country which we may suppose was the territory of Segesta. From the railway station we take the diligence up to Calatafime, and thence, by horse or on foot, we have a journey of four or five miles to the site of the city. We catch from the road two or three glimpses of the temple looming above the intervening hills, but sinking behind them as we approach; and when little more than half way to it, the guide led me to a foot-path which plunges down into a narrow valley of luxuriant fertility, and through groves of orange and lemon trees with which the bottom land was planted, and at the further side we began to climb the mountain on which the city used to be. The hillside was planted with olive trees and the path lined with immense cactuses—the ordinary prickly pear, which furnishes one of the most valuable fruits of the region, as it renders enormous crops, and comes in season when other fruits are scarce; and though it is not esteemed as it deserves by those not accustomed to it, it is exported to Naples and southern Italy in quantities, and in still greater is consumed by the population. The path finally leads round the bare hillside through the grain fields and along a dizzy slope, always upward, until we have made the tour of half the circumference of the mountain, when we come suddenly on the temple crowning a spur of the mountain and a few hundred yards away. A slight depression intervenes, so that from the point where we get the first, and best, view of it the temple is seen on the point of the hill, with a wide outlook over the surrounding country in all directions except the west.

At this distance it seems perfect, for we can hardly see that the columns have never been fluted or that the platform is unfinished, much less that no pavement has ever been laid. It seems lower than it is from the great size of the columns, which were still to be reduced in diameter by the finishing work. The closer views are interfered with by the necessity of seeing it from too near a point, as the hill falls away from it so fast that the stylobate is hidden when we are far enough from it to feel the proportions. To the uncritical eye it does not differ much from the temple of Theseus at Athens, and it cannot be of much later construction if we may judge of the date of the Greek and Sicilian temples by the same canons. It has no sculpture. Its unfinished state has been attributed to the Carthaginian conquest of the island, but there does not seem to me any reason for this attribution. The Carthaginians came in as friends to Segesta, and though they soon made their presence felt as that of masters to those whom they came to serve as friends, they were still allies, and their influence would hardly have been exerted in the direction of hostility to the religion of the city. It is far more likely that the incomplete condition of the work is due to the same cause as that of so many other Greek undertakings—the dilatoriness which was a characteristic of the race, alternating with fits of fiery energy. The temporary want of means to carry on the work would cause a cessation of it; and when the fit of energy was off, the apathy would continue until some new circumstance arose to awaken the good intention again. The triumph over Selinus was far more likely to have stimulated the completion of the temple as a commemoration of it than to have stopped it. It seems to me that the temple must be attributed to a period some years, at



least fifty, earlier than the fall of Selinus, from the consideration of the circumstances both political and architectural, and as more likely to be due to the prior depression of the unfortunate conflict with the rival city, and the consequent poverty. The temple shows the same system of curvatures as the Parthenon.

Besides the theatre and a few fragments of late walls, there is nothing left on the city site proper now visible to the eye; but there have never been any excavations made in the modern spirit of investigation, so that we can hardly conjecture what the earliest origin of the city might be. The traditions, which always have a certain value, are here contradictory, one making it a Trojan colony, and another attributing it to the Elymi, a Pelasgic race. There is no authority for the Trojan theory earlier than Stesichorus, who makes the Trojans of Æneas wander about Sicily; but if there were enough of that unhappy people left to found all the cities that the poets have attributed to them, or the ambition of the inhabitants themselves appropriated—seeking, like an American parvenu, to attach their descent to some famous name—they had better have reconstructed Troy, supposing always that Troy was. The nature of the site is in favor of the Elymean theory, and the absence of any trace of walls such as this might lead us to look for, is not to be wondered at, for the stone of the vicinity is so friable that the later walls which the Greek inhabitants must have had as a necessity of ordinary defence have disappeared. Moreover, as we know that the Pelasgi were colonists here, there is no improbability in making them the authors of a colony whose site is so entirely in accordance with the requirements of that people in all except the building material. As we know, too, that, from the earliest traditions, the Greeks and Pelasgi were allied peoples, the assimilation of the Greeks of the colonization in historical times would not be strange, so that the certain Hellenic character of the people as shown in the later traditions is what we might expect. The architecture, the coinage, the appeal to Athens for help when too hard crowded by Selinus, and, in fact, all the positive traditions of the city, are Greek; and the insistence on the Trojan tradition by Selinus to excuse the inveterate hostility, was only one of the sophisms with which they used to amuse themselves on more important as well as less important occasions. They wanted to find an excuse, and this was the most convenient.

The commanding position of the temple is referred to as "another striking instance of the manner in which the Greeks placed their edifices, so as to harmonize with and be heightened by the surrounding scenery"; but this, with due deference to whoever may think it, is subjective criticism, for there is no evidence that the Greeks had any such manner. The temple of Segesta is put in the only place where it could be put and be at once accessible and defensible. The temples were put on high points from reasons connected with worship and defence, and when such a position was convenient, but there is not the slightest reason to attribute the selection to aesthetic considerations. The theatres were sometimes constructed on a hillside, but for the reason that such a position favored the construction. We have many indications in Greek literature that though the Greeks loved the open air, being a pastoral and agricultural people, they were slightly if at all affected by the beauty of landscape. The early shrines to Zeus as the god of the thunderbolt and the sky, and of Apollo as the god of the rising sun, as well as of Athena when she was the guardian of the city, are on heights, natu-

rally, when the site offers it; but many of the temples are not so advantageously posted from the æsthetic point of view as they might be. Considerations of the ritual were far more imperative then, as now, than any ideas of abstract beauty, and the security of the temple as sanctuary and treasure-house of equal force. The people most devoid of artistic feeling, in ancient times, usually built their temples or erected their altars on heights; and in Catholic countries, even to-day, and much more in the most barbarous epochs, we find it to be the common practice to put the chapels and churches on heights, sometimes simply to make it a penance to worship there. At all events, Segesta proves nothing, for the site of the temple is obligatory—there is no place to put another without extreme inconvenience or hiding the one we have.

The modern history of the antagonistic cities has run pretty much on the same lines as if the fated curse of a common hostility had rested on them both. Selinus never existed after the Carthaginian destruction except as a refuge for outcasts, with the exception of an interval when the security and prosperity of the Saracen rule made the choice of a residence of little importance, while Segesta struggled on till the fourth century in decay; but both have been for centuries without other inhabitants than wandering shepherds, and now of the men put by the Government to guard the archaeological treasures of the sites. W. J. STILLMAN.

#### THE SOCIETY OF AUTHORS.

LONDON, February, 1889.

THE Society of Authors has just held its annual meeting in London. During the year little is heard about the Society unless its members give a dinner, as they did last summer, or hold a conference, as was the case a couple of years ago. It is practically governed by the Committee of Management, and therefore the annual meeting, when their report is read, is an occasion of some importance to every one interested in the profession of literature.

To appreciate at its true value the work that is being done, it is only fair to remember the extreme youth of the Society. It was founded in 1884, but I venture to assert that nothing was known of it, and little was accomplished by it, until 1887, when it was suddenly brought into prominence, and a new impetus given to its members, by three very lively conferences held in Willis's Rooms. The objects of the Society were then made known to the public. It aims at (1) the maintenance, definition, and defence of literary property; (2) the consolidation and amendment of the laws of domestic copyright; (3) the promotion of international copyright. At the conferences to which I have referred, much was said about copyright, but more about publishers. English authors felt they had a distinct grievance in the treatment they received at the hands of American pirates, but a still greater evil was pointed out in their relations with publishers at home. A good many bitter things were said, and afterwards led to a no less bitter newspaper war, in which several publishers took part. A few firms, whose honesty no one doubted, whatever might be thought of their business capacity, announced their intention of thereafter auditing all accounts. It is not probable that firms whose honesty was very much doubted were moved to turn over a new leaf. Since then the Society, while keeping an eye on the copyright question, has devoted most of its time and attention to the defence of literary property.

That which first strikes one on reading the

report for the last twelve months, is that up to the present time the Society has been principally a refuge for the outcast, a pillar for the weak, a hospital for the maimed. What I mean is, that the chief work it has hitherto undertaken has consisted "in examining agreements, advising upon complaints and grievances, and obtaining legal opinions for the guidance and protection of members"; and also in reading MSS. and giving an opinion as to their merits and advice as to their publication. Now, the author whose work is worth publishing, it is usually found, can make his agreements for himself, and even Walter Besant, in the course of yesterday's proceedings, had occasion to point out that the members of the Council who were present—Edmund Gosse, Rider Haggard, Sir Frederick Pollock, and himself—were all on the best and most satisfactory terms with their publishers. That there are plenty of men and women who will sign foolish or fraudulent agreements, no one will deny, but that they will be kept from doing so by a society instituted for their protection is more than doubtful, as Walter Besant also proved by citing the case of a woman who submitted an agreement to him and then signed it, though he showed her she was being cheated. Again, a publisher seldom relies upon his own judgment, but has his staff of readers, who consider the MSS. sent in to him. They often make mistakes, sometimes very serious blunders, but there is no special reason to believe that readers engaged by the Society, who are also paid for their services, will be more infallible.

The Committee count it a third step in advance that during the last year arrangements have been made "by which those who desire or consent to publish their books at their own risk and cost, may be enabled to do so without being charged more than the actual cost of production and a reasonable fee for the work done." It is only in very exceptional cases of benefit to the author to publish books in this manner. If he is a Ruskin, it is all right; and probably if successful authors had the time as well as the money to order the entire making of their books, their profit would be doubled. But when an author undertakes only the expense, and not the actual making, it is difficult to see the advantage gained in placing the matter in the hands of the Society, which does not itself manage the publication, rather than in giving it directly to the publisher; in both cases a fee is charged. Of course, there are, as the Report shows, "books which it is desirable to publish—good and useful books—which appeal to so small a public that the author, unless he can procure one of the universities or learned societies to undertake their publication, must himself be charged with the cost." But until the Society becomes its own publishing company, it is not easy to see how it can give greater help to an author in this plight than the large publishers, who are always glad to have valuable and learned works on their list of publications, especially when they can do so without themselves running any risk. As for the verses by young poets which it is impossible to get published except at their own charge, it is to be hoped the Society will not take any step to encourage their publication. Any man who writes passable verse has every chance to publish it in the periodicals of the day; if he cannot thus find a place for it, he may be pretty sure it is not of much account. Indeed, it may be said of all MSS., as a rule—there are, of course, notable exceptions—that to submit them to publishers and editors is a better test of their merit than to ask the advice of a society of which the author is a member.

Sir Frederick Pollock, in a short speech, seemed to think that, after all, a little common sense on the part of the author was more necessary than the opinion and advice of the Society. The want of business sense so often shown by men of letters he attributed to the fact that until our time it was thought to be beneath a gentleman to live by literature. In the eighteenth century those who did were looked upon as hacks. But, while he held that literature, like medicine and the law, is immeasurably above all other trades, he could not see why the literary man should not, like the doctor and the lawyer, have some regard to his purely business interests. Whether literature has gained by being made a profession, I think it would be extremely difficult for any one to decide; but, inasmuch as it has become a profession, I cannot but agree with Sir Frederick Pollock that, to regulate the relations between individual publishers and authors, what is needed is, first of all, common sense upon the part of the latter.

Other work which the Society proposes to do, and indeed has begun, seems much more within its proper scope. It is now preparing for publication

"a series of papers, varying in size from a tract to a small volume, on the following subjects:

- "(1.) The Various Acts of Parliament which have Recognized and Protected Literary Property.
- "(2.) The Growth of Literary Property and the Literary Profession in this Country.
- "(3.) Tabulated statements of the approximate cost of printing, binding, advertising, and production generally, of various kinds of books.
- "(4.) The Various Forms and Methods of Publishing.
- "(5.) The History and Work of the *Société des Gens de Lettres*.
- "(6.) Literature and the Civil List.
- "(7.) International Copyright.
- "(8.) Equitable Publishing."

This series promises to be very interesting.

The Society also intends to start a syndicate of its own, which will receive MSS. from its members only, and place them, if possible, in newspapers at home and abroad. As the excellence and finish of the work will be considered, as well as its marketable value, it will be curious to follow the fortunes of the syndicate, and compare them with those of its rival literary agencies whose only standard of literary merit is one of dollars and cents.

The Society is hopeful about international copyright, and looks forward to the passing of the American bill, with some modifications, before this year has come to an end. Very little, however, was said on the subject; the members of the Society have already so well learned the difficulty of accomplishing their ends in their own country, that they begin to realize that abroad they are as yet powerless.

There was nothing else said or done in the meeting worthy of note. English authors are very dull when they come together in formal meeting. To the Committee of Management, who do the work, is also left the talking. One might think English authors were indifferent to their Society, were it not for the numbers who belong to it.

## Correspondence.

NIE POZWALAM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Fiftieth Congress has vanished into the limbo of departed things (or, to speak correctly, into Sheol), and has left unenacted the International Copyright Bill. This is only one

of its laches, and by no means the most important, but it affords a typical illustration of the condition into which our legislation is drifting.

We boast of being the most practical and hard-headed people on the globe or elsewhere, and Mr. Bryce has recently complimented us on our supreme political sense; yet we allow our Representatives to involve themselves in a series of parliamentary rules so intricate and absurd that a small group of members, or even an individual, can block the proceedings of the House and prevent the transaction of the most necessary business. The public looks on in somewhat dumb astonishment, unable to understand the methods, while painfully conscious of the result. The Copyright Bill, for instance, was a measure which had been for some years the subject of discussion in the Senate; it had thus been moulded into a shape which disarmed opposition, so that no open or organized antagonism ventured to show itself. The Senate passed it last May by about a three-quarters vote; it was favorably reported by the appropriate Committee of the House; no one openly opposed it, and it admittedly had two-thirds of the members in its favor. There was absolutely no politics in the matter: in the Senate the member in charge of the measure was a protectionist Republican, and in the House a revenue-reforming Democrat. Yet for five months at the end of the long session, and during the whole of the short session, its friends could never bring it before the House for consideration. Whenever the attempt was proposed, there was always some technical rule in the way, and a single member apparently had power to paralyze the whole legislative wisdom of the Union.

It requires no profound study of political history to foretell where this is to end if it is suffered to continue. To find parallel ingenuity in the art of misgovernment, we must look to the most unfortunate of the Slavonic races, whose fate affords a wholesome warning. Practically we seem to have reached the *liberum veto* of the Polish Diet:

"The power of one man," as Carlyle describes it, "to stop the proceedings of Polish Parliament by pronouncing audibly '*Nie pozwalam*, I don't permit'—never before or since among mortals was so incredible a Law. Law standing indisputable, nevertheless, on the Polish Statute-book for above two hundred years: like an ever-flowing fountain of Anarchy, joyful to the Polish Nation. How they got any business done at all under such a Law? Truly they did but little, and for the last thirty years as good as none. But if Polish Parliament was universally in earnest to do some business, and veto came upon it, Honourable Members, I observe, gathered passionately round the vetoing Brother; conjured, obtested, menaced, wept, prayed; and, if the case was too earnest and insoluble otherwise, the *Nie pozwalam* Gentleman still obstinate, they plunged their swords through him, and in that way brought consent. The commoner course was to dissolve and go home again in a tempest of shrieks and curses."

Now it seems to me that if we are to adopt Slavonic usages, we ought also to have recourse to Slavonic remedies. I would hardly recommend at first the application of the expeditious and decisive Polish method to our experts in the employment of the *Nie pozwalam*; but, if the rules of the House are too sacred to be tempered with common sense, we might commence with the expedients invented by the Russian peasantry, who, in the conduct of their *Mirs*, or communal societies, are hampered with the same facility of obstruction. They find, we are told, that the cudgel is a very efficacious argument in bringing about the requisite harmony of opinion. Another method, recommended by the experience of generations, is to bind the obstructive member hand and foot

and lay him tenderly away in a dark corner, without victuals or drink. The introspective mood generated by this treatment speedily allays the ardor aroused by debate, and the instances are few in which the most obstinate are not won over.

I merely mention these as suggestions on which the ingenuity of our law-givers can doubtless improve. Meanwhile, I am sure you will agree with me that some remedy is imperative.—Very respectfully, HENRY C. LEA.

PHILADELPHIA, March 4, 1889.

### HARINGTON AND SIDNEY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Murray's citation of dates and authorities to show that Sir John Harington might have read Sidney's 'Apologie' in manuscript, is a case of carrying coals to Newcastle. The best evidence is found in Harington's own work. On the second page of his 'Preface, or rather a brief Apologie of Poetrie,' prefixed to his translation of the 'Orlando Furioso,' occurs the following sentence: "For as for all, or the most part of such questions, I will referre you to Sir Philip Sidney's Apologie, who doth handle them quite learnedly."

On page 7 (counting from the beginning of the preface—the pagination is wanting in the edition of 1634 which lies before me) is another reference to Sidney's work: "Sith as Sir Philip Sidney confesseth, Cupido is crept even into the Heroicall poems." With this compare Sidney, 'Apologie for Poetrie,' p. 53: "Even to the Heroical, Cupid hath ambitiously clied."

These citations are sufficient proof that Harington was familiar with the contents of Sidney's 'Apologie.' That he was also a shameless "conveyor" of Sidney's ideas cannot be doubted for an instant by any one who has read the two "Apologies" in close succession. A considerable portion of Harington's preface is mere paraphrase of Sidney, his indebtedness extending even to small matters of quotation and example. The parallel passages are too long to be reproduced, but those who are curious in the matter can satisfy themselves by making the following comparisons, the references being to Arber's reprint of Sidney's 'Apologie' and the edition of Harington cited above:

Harington, p. 4, Sidney, p. 51; H., p. 5, S., p. 59; H., p. 6, S., p. 27; H., p. 7, S., pp. 53-3; H., p. 8, S., p. 72.

The expression, "keepe a childe from play and an old man from the chimnie corner," occurs on page 7 of Harington's 'Apologie,' and is a case of downright stealing of one of Sidney's most felicitous passages—the more inexcusable because Sidney was then in his grave, and his 'Apologie' was known to but a limited circle of his friends. I have never been able to forgive Harington for this piece of audacious sneak-thievery, and I am wholly at a loss to understand why Mr. Lowell lent countenance to it. I feel disposed to arraign the latter for harboring stolen goods, if not for the greater crime of honoring a thing of shreds and patches at the expense of one of the finest prose-poems in the English language. FRED. N. SCOTT.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN,  
March 2, 1889.

### MORE ABOUT BENJAMIN VAUGHAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your able review of the Messrs. Hale's 'Franklin in France,' contained in your issue, No. 1231, January 31, 1889, quotations are made from their work relating to Mr. Benjamin Vaughan which, to put it mildly, are in



rather slighting terms—such as, “one Benjamin Vaughan, then in Paris. The individual Vaughan. Mr. Bancroft writes him down as an inferior and casual agent. Mr. Hale regards him as a well-meaning man of very great vanity”—as if Mr. Vaughan had been some “casual agent” picked up by chance as a *pisaller* by Mr. Jay.

Mr. Vaughan belonged to an old family of London merchants, in the days when merchants were not shopkeepers. The family was wealthy, and he devoted his leisure moments to the study of philosophic and scientific subjects. His friends and associates were men of the order of Dr. Priestley, David Hume, and Franklin. He was a member of the Royal Society. With scientific tastes, he naturally sought the acquaintance of Franklin on his arrival in London, and that acquaintance and friendship lasted until the death of Franklin. He was of great service to Franklin in many ways during his long official residence in England and France. It was principally due to his persuasion, together with that of Franklin's friend M. Le Veillard, Mayor of Passy, that Franklin was induced to write his *Memoirs*. The letters that passed between them show that Franklin had a very high opinion of the qualities of Mr. Vaughan.

Mr. Hale says (part 2, p. 145): “Without communicating his step to Franklin, Jay persuaded Benjamin Vaughan, in whom he seems to have had great confidence, to carry to Shelburne a verbal message,” etc. This was in relation to granting a new commission, which Jay feared would be opposed by M. de Rayneval, an agent of the French Minister, who had gone to London “under an assumed name and took pains to conceal his departure.” One would infer from this that Franklin was to be kept in ignorance of this move on the part of Mr. Jay. Mr. Vaughan at that moment was on a visit to Franklin, and it is not at all probable that Vaughan—an old and close friend of Franklin's—would not acquaint Franklin of the object of his departure. Franklin, a consummate diplomatist, probably did not want to *know too much*, as it always fell upon him to explain away, with tact, the lack of *bien-séance* on the part of his co-commissioners to the Count de Vergennes. No man knew men better than Franklin, or was more capable of judging their capacities; he knew Vaughan of old date, and also knew his “personal merits and talents,” and that he was a suitable man for the business he had in hand.

There were three brothers of the Vaughans, William, Benjamin, and John. John was much younger than his brothers, and, after the peace was declared, came to America under the auspices of Franklin; settled in Philadelphia, establishing himself as a merchant and importer of foreign wines and liquors. Like his brother Benjamin, he was fond of philosophic and scientific studies, and was for many years Secretary and President of the Philosophical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, a society of which Franklin was one of the founders. He was the principal mover in the introduction of gas as a lighting medium into Philadelphia. He lived to a very old age, and was a man beloved and respected by all who knew him. He was a bachelor, living in apartments in the rooms of the Philosophical Society; and his breakfasts with a few friends were as famous in Philadelphia as the poet Rogers's were in London. I knew Mr. John Vaughan, and nothing delighted the old gentleman more than to talk of Franklin, and of the part his brother had taken in the negotiations for peace.

It is well known that Franklin's bitterest enemies were among his own countrymen:

“unhappy indeed in their tempers, and in the dark, uncomfortable passions of jealousy, anger, suspicion, envy, and malice,” as he says in one of his letters. Dr. Arthur Lee of Virginia, a fellow-Commissioner with Franklin and John Adams in Europe, was his principal calumniator; and John Adams had very little love or respect for him, but a great deal of “jealousy and envy.” Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, known as a warm and attached friend of Franklin, may have reaped some of the “jealousy, envy, and malice” heaped upon Franklin.

As a specimen of consummate jealousy, envy, and egotism of one of Franklin's fellow-Commissioners, I will add the following letter of John Adams (a copy of which I have), which will serve to show, if the proof be needed, that in his judgment of his contemporaries he was not in the least conventional. The original letter is now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It was addressed to a particular friend, who had written to Mr. Adams in July, 1806, paying him very high compliments. I believe it has never appeared in print. It runs as follows:

“QUINCY, August 23, 1806.

“DEAR SIR: In your letter of the 7th of July you flatter me with very high eulogies, and complete the climax of them with the opinion of Washington. For the future, I pray you to spare yourself the trouble of quoting that great authority in my favor. Although no man has a more settled opinion of his integrity and virtues than myself, I nevertheless desire that my life, actions, and administration may be condemned to everlasting oblivion, and I will add infamy, if they cannot be defended by their own intrinsic merit, and without the aid of Mr. Washington's judgment.

“The Federalists, as they are called by themselves and by their enemies, have done themselves and their country incalculable injury by making Washington their military, political, religious, and even moral pope, and ascribing everything to him. Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Jay, and several others have been much more essential characters to America than Washington. Another character, almost forgotten, of more importance than any of them all, was James Otis. It is to offend against eternal justice to give to one, as this people do, the merits of so many. It is one effectual extinguisher of all patriotism and public virtue, and throwing the nation wholly into the hands of intrigue. You lament the growth of corruption very justly, but there is none more poisonous than the eternal puffing and trumpeting of Washington and Franklin, and the incessant abuse of the real fathers of their country.”

For further enlightenment upon the self-esteem and egotism of John Adams, see ‘Sketches of Debate in the First Senate of the United States, in 1789-90-91,’ by Wm. Maclay, a Senator from Pennsylvania, edited by Geo. W. Harris of Harrisburg, Pa., 1880.

Benjamin Vaughan may have taken but a minor part in the negotiations for peace. He, an Englishman, had been always a warm friend of the American cause; had influence in London, and was by no means an “inferior” or “vain” man. Franklin was not in the habit of forming close and enduring friendship with inferior or vain men. It was the friendship of superior people he sought.

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM J. KERR.

93 AVENUE HENRI MARTIN, PASSY-PARIS,  
February 22, 1889.

#### THE CORRECTION OF NEWSPAPER INACCURACY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The letter on “Newspaper Inaccuracy” that appeared in the *Nation* of February 14, should be supplemented by some remarks on

the obtuseness and the misstatements of newspapers when their own blunders are in question. Instead of dropping the matter, after thanking Prof. Hoover for calling attention to the erroneous statement in the *Times-Star* of January 18 that certain dates fell on Friday, that newspaper has published article after article making baseless slurs on Prof. Hoover's reputation for accuracy, and denouncing as false my statements in the *Nation*. We are told that such treatment is all that we could expect from a newspaper. If this be so, so much the worse for the newspapers. And yet is not the long-suffering American people partly to blame for these characteristics of its newspapers? If we demanded that newspapers should either deserve our confidence or lose our patronage, could we not do something to reform them? We do not demand infallibility—too many pretend to that already—but we do ask that newspapers use reasonable care to verify statements before publication, and that they be willing to correct mistakes without reviling those who call attention to them.

But note the procedure of the *Times-Star*. Upon searching my letter to find a handle for attack, the editors of that paper fell foul of the expression “verified the dates.” By removing this expression from its context it was made to sound ambiguous, but when taken in connection with the rest of my letter, it could have no possible meaning but the one intended: viz., that Prof. Hoover verified whether or not the dates mentioned fell on Friday. As a mathematician, all that the Professor felt called upon to do was to set each date given on the right day of the week. In two instances, however, where the event actually fell on Friday though the date given did not, he generously gave the article credit for accuracy as to the main fact. In every other instance, he took the date actually given in the article as the basis of his computation, and thus left some historical blunders untouched. Now, the *Times-Star* editors, finding several such blunders in their own article, at once unloaded all said blunders upon Prof. Hoover, and accused him of being “an inaccurate corrector,” thus metamorphosing their own mistakes into a weapon of attack upon him. He has replied by expressing his willingness to submit the accuracy of his work to a jury of experts.

In answer to the charge that there are “false statements” in my letter to the *Nation*, I have only to reply that the *Times-Star* editors have revealed no such statement, and that indeed they admit more than I care to affirm. Touching the inaccuracy of the article, they say on February 2, “inaccurate dates which we should have verified before using,” and on February 23, “it proved on examination to be wholly unreliable.” Any one who can count can ascertain that this original article assigns dates to just nineteen events, and any expert chronologist can readily show that only four of these dates really fell on Friday. By pointing out historical blunders, the *Times-Star* editors have themselves shown that the inaccuracy of their article was even greater than I indicated. Out of the nineteen dates, I only mentioned the seventeen belonging to the first six days of the week, because I thought that it would be obvious to any one who cared to inquire curiously into the matter that the other two dates fell on the seventh day. In compliance with the repeated requests of the *Times-Star* for a restatement of the case in the *Nation*, I cheerfully offer this explanation, hoping that my meaning is now so clear that even a *Times-Star* editor need not err therein.

EDWARD P. ANDERSON.

OHIO UNIVERSITY, ATHENS, March 4, 1889.

## Notes.

MISS ALICE C. FLETCHER is engaged on a monograph of Omaha songs, the result of the observation of several years. In this work she has been assisted by Mr. Francis La Flesche, of the Omaha tribe. Between one and two hundred songs have been obtained from native singers and the music noted, which, having been repeated to Indians of the tribe, has been recognized and pronounced correct. An account of tribal ceremonies has also been obtained, such as will render the forthcoming work a complete picture of the life of the people.

J. B. Lippincott Co. will have the third volume of 'Chambers's Encyclopædia' ready this week. They will shortly publish 'The Queen of Bedlam,' by Capt. King.

The best contribution that we have yet seen to the Bacon-Shakspeare controversy is a volume by Charlotte Carmichael Stopes, 'The Bacon-Shakspeare Question Answered' (London: Trübner & Co.), of which we have received the second edition. It is an orderly statement, such as Shakspeare scholars have hitherto disdained to make, of the comparative evidence, internal, external, and psychological, for the authorship of the plays; but any presentation of this, short of a folio, must be partial. In one particular, however, the book contains an original and interesting chapter of criticism. It appears that the author was led into the task by a study of the way in which Shakspeare spoke of beer and wine; and this, which is a very elaborate examination, is included in the work, and set side by side with a similarly exhaustive account of Bacon's writings on the same subject. The result is, that the two men seem to have hardly any common point in their interest and observation in this special matter; Bacon illustrating, as a matter of course, the scientific, and Shakspeare the humane spirit. These special monographs take up much space, and the remainder is well employed in a temperate and almost cold statement of things known—a branch of Shakspeare scholarship in which the Baconians have not been shining lights. A history of the Baconian theory of the plays, including Mrs. Pott and the "cipher," concludes the volume. Perhaps it is as well that the case for Shakspeare should be summarized, however dreary and foolish the Baconian delusion may appear; but the blow needed only to be struck to be crushing.

The New York Shakspeare Society publishes the third volume of the Bankside Shakspeare, the text furnished the players in parallel columns with the first revised folio text; the subject of the present issue being "The Merchant of Venice." The introduction is furnished by William Reynolds, and is principally occupied with an examination of the law of the play, with a view to the Baconian-authorship theory. He traverses the well-known ground, already completely covered and sufficiently summarized in the Variorum edition, and concludes that Bacon could not possibly have fathered the law of the play. The text is printed with customary fidelity, so far as our examination has gone.

The fifth volume of the 'Henry Irving Shakspeare,' edited by Frank A. Marshall (Scribner & Welford), contains "All's Well That Ends Well," "Julius Cæsar," "Measure for Measure," "Troilus and Cressida," and "Macbeth," the latter appearing out of its order. The general plan of the work has been already noticed, and it has not been departed from, the stage histories of the plays continuing to be useful summaries; the present volume has no striking features.

The "Canterbury Poets" edition of 'Selections from Crabbe,' by Edward Lamplough, comes accompanied by an excellent life of Crabbe, by T. E. Kebbel (London: Walter Scott; New York: T. Whittaker), in which he portrays the poet in somewhat harsher lines than it was fit for his son to draw in his life of his father. He corrects a few inaccuracies, but the more important of his contributions to the truth consist in a readjustment of the narrative. He suggests, for example, that the real meaning of the son's words, referring to Crabbe's life at Belvoir Castle—"when the conversation was interesting he might not always retire as early as prudence might suggest; nor perhaps did he at all times put a bridle to his tongue"—is that Crabbe indulged himself too freely, and at such times was betrayed into exhibition of his rougher manners learned in drinking with more vulgar companions. The character of Crabbe is not an attractive one socially, and as here presented it is harmonious with his works. The selection of passages in the companion volume could not easily be wrong, as many well-furnished critics have already determined the favorites; it makes a substantial addition to our literature of this sort, as few authors deserve sifting more than Crabbe, or better repay it with a pure residuum of original and individual genius of an interesting though modest order.

George Meredith, who is now being put through the paces of fame so energetically by publishers and critics, has arrived at one of the last stages of his journey in having a volume of selections made from his novels under the title of 'The Pilgrim's Scrip' (Roberts Bros.). These are represented as aphorisms, but they do not justify the name. He is an epigrammatic writer, and often gives that shrewd and eccentric turn to a phrase which makes it suddenly impress the mind; but these sayings fulfil only half the fine definition of Lord John Russell's, being "the wit of one," but not "the wisdom of many." They are mostly observations on life, and condensed rather in matter than in expression. They are, too, much less effective when detached than in the novels. Perhaps the awkwardness of his poetry to a eulogist could not receive better illustration than in the lame attempt to make a readable selection from it, with which this volume of excerpts closes. There is poetic thought in them, as there is proverbial philosophy in his prose; but he achieved poems and maxims with about equal rarity. There is a fatal defect in his power of expression.

A volume of selections from the works of Harriet Beecher Stowe, 'Flowers and Fruits,' arranged by Abbie H. Fairfield (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), reminds us how deeply this author's works bear the stamp of the old New England life, and how closely sympathetic they are with the nature of the home-keeping people whom they have most delighted. Here one sees at a glance what gave both unity and popularity to her varied work, aside from the exceptional circumstances which made 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' a book for all the world. The contents are arranged topically under such captions as "The Inner Life," "Children," "Nature," etc.

Mr. Frederick Saunders writes rather for quiet book-lovers than for the public, and his last volume, 'Stray Leaves of Literature' (Thomas Whittaker), does nothing to change his audience. It betokens a leisurely mind, and only a leisurely reader will find it just in his vein—a smooth-flowing stream of pleasant talk about matters not far to seek in gentlemen's libraries.

Eleanor Kirk supplements her useful 'Periodicals that Pay Contributors' with a new thin

volume of 'Information for Authors' (Brooklyn, 786 Lafayette Avenue), in which she gives excellent advice about the preparation and disposal of manuscripts, and the foibles of editors of magazines. It is of a nature that every tyro should know it before putting pen to paper for the press, and should be recommended as much out of kindness to editors as to aspirants.

An interesting contribution to the colonial papers of Virginia has been made by William Cabell Rives, LL.B., who edits with a preface the 'Journal of an Exploration in the Spring of the Year 1750, by Dr. Thomas Walker of Virginia' (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.). Dr. Walker was a Virginia patriot, connected by marriage with the Washington family, a companion of Washington in the perils of Braddock's defeat, a commissioner to negotiate with the Six Nations in 1768, and with other Indians at later dates, and usually in political office in his own State, often holding responsible stations. The expedition of which he kept a diary was undertaken when he was thirty-five years old, and covered a region now in the States of Kentucky and Tennessee. He was the first white man who has left an account of the wilderness in these parts. The journal shows the presence, apparently not rare, of buffalo and elk, and notices the outcropping of coal; its interest, however, is principally antiquarian. The knowledge which Dr. Walker gained appears to have been used in 'A Map of the British and French Dominion, etc.,' by John Mitchell, used in the peace negotiations of 1783. The diary, which is short, is an excellent picture of a hunter's exploring trip; all the better for being without adventure and without color—merely a day-to-day existence.

'Winter Sketches from the Saddle,' by a septuagenarian, John Codman (G. P. Putnam's Sons), takes us back to old modes of travelling in a double sense, since it carries us over the old roads as well as in the old saddle. The more interesting parts of the little volume have the flavor of antiquarianism, especially of the Revolutionary era, the hero being André; but besides these bits of local wayside history, there is in this book a breath of the old-country spirit, before the days of railroads, which makes it whole some.

'Systems of Education,' by Prof. Gill of the Cheltenham Normal College, England, is a reprint by D. C. Heath & Co. of the edition of 1876. It is a popular statement of some of the principal systems, most of them European, and, in our opinion, of very little use to Americans, who are perhaps too much flooded with educational literature just now.

'The Government of the United States,' by W. J. Cocker (Harpers), is a brief constitutional manual for use in public schools. It is doubtful whether the pupils in these schools are sufficiently mature to comprehend very well the principles and the operation of our complicated system, and if they are, we should be strongly inclined to recommend them to take up Mr. Bryce's first volume. The work of a master is almost always simpler and more intelligible, even to the young, than that of the ordinary expositor and commentator. Mr. Cocker's book seems to be very carefully prepared; he has followed good authorities, and his style is clear. His manual is perhaps as satisfactory as any of its kind, but it is necessarily limited chiefly to the enumeration of particulars, and only a teacher of genius could interest boys in such a mass of intrinsically dry facts.

When an article on "American Authors and British Pirates" was published in the *New Princeton Review* eighteen months ago, many



English writers were moved to indignant protest, and one of the accused firms went so far as to write a letter to the *Spectator*—we mean the firm of F. Warne & Co. This fact gives special piquancy to the following note, which we find tucked into the March number of *Longmans' Magazine*, apropos of Mrs. Deland's 'John Ward, Preacher':

"Messrs. Longmans & Co. are the sole authorized publishers in this country of the above successful novel. They pay a royalty to the author, Mrs. Deland, on every copy they sell. As the novel was first published in America, it is not copyright in this country, and Messrs. Warne & Co. have availed themselves of this fact to publish a pirated edition. Notice is hereby given to booksellers and the public that Messrs. Longmans' edition is the only one authorized by Mrs. Deland. Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son have refused to buy any copies of Messrs. Warne & Co.'s edition."

The Librairie Paul Monnerat in Paris announces Miss Alcott's 'Les Elèves de Jo, et ce qu'ils devinrent.'

Noticeable in these days is the multiplication of annotated foreign texts for school reading. We can do no more than report the titles of some of these: Molière's 'L'Avare,' edited by Prof. Schele de Vere, and the first of a series of 'Classiques Français,' published in this city by W. R. Jenkins; 'Petit Théâtre des Enfants,' being "twelve tiny French plays for children," by Mrs. Hugh Bell (Longmans); Lamartine's 'Jeanne d'Arc,' edited by the competent hand of Prof. Alfred Barrère, and furnished with a vocabulary (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.), and the same author's 'La Bataille de Trafalgar,' edited by A. C. Clapin, with map and vocabulary (Boston: Carl Schoenhof); A. Dumas's 'Un Drame de la Mer,' likewise edited by Mr. Clapin and published by Schoenhof; Zola's 'L'Attaque du Moulin,' edited by F. Julien, who provides not only notes but grammatical questions, and English sentences suggested by the text for translation into French—an excellent plan (Schoenhof); Hector Malot's 'Capri et sa Troupe,' an episode from 'Sans Famille,' edited by Francis Tarver, and Montesquieu's 'Grandeur des Romains,' edited by Paul E. C. Barbier—both these in Hachette's "Series of French Classics," and published (with vocabularies) by Schoenhof. In German we have Schiller's 'Jungfrau von Orleans,' annotated by Benj. W. Wells, and 'Lessing's Prosa,' selections edited by Prof. H. S. White of Cornell for the Messrs. Putnam's "German Classics for American Students." We may also mention in this connection two manuals of 'Commercial Correspondence,' French and German, which come to us from the Messrs. Longman, and seem well adapted as models.

A pretty bound catalogue of books for sale by J. W. Bouton of this city is adorned with facsimiles of old title-pages and in other ways, but is most noticeable for the autobiographical introduction in which this veteran bookseller recommends himself anew to his patrons.

The first French theatrical annual to appear is that with the punning title, 'Paris sur Scène' (New York: F. W. Christern), prepared by M. Saint Mör, and most abundantly illustrated. The very clever sketches of scenes in the Parisian plays of the past year are the chief attractions of this volume; but the letterpress seems careful and honest, and the book is made more valuable by exactness in its dates, and by the insertion of full casts of the performers in the plays criticised. Reading 'Paris sur Scène' is a short cut to a summary review of French drama for the past year; and the chief impression left is, that there is a distinct revival of the purely comic drama.

M. Bodinier, who is attached to the Comédie-Française, organized in Paris, a year or so

ago, a "Théâtre d'Application," where the pupils of the Conservatory might get practice in their art by acting two or three times a week. In the hall devoted to this useful purpose he has recently held an exhibition of portraits of actors and actresses, of dramatic authors and dramatic critics. Some two hundred-odd portraits in oil and water color, in pastel and black-and-white, were shown, and these are duly catalogued in a neat little pamphlet printed by Quantin. It is to be hoped that the collections of the Garrick Club in London and of the Players' in New York will some day be catalogued as thoroughly.

The announcement of the suspension of the *Moliériste* is confirmed in the February number, and with the number for March this useful and admirable special magazine will conclude at once its tenth annual volume and its career. M. Monval has done good service, and he deserves the thanks of all who love the great, sad humorist whose works are the glory of French literature.

The Leonard Scott Publication Society, 29 Park Row, New York, has reprinted as an "extra" from the February *Contemporary Review* the famous article on the "Bismarck Dynasty."

A recent Bulletin of the Paris Société de Géographie contains an account by M. Camille Douls of his remarkable journey in northwestern Africa during the year 1887. Disguised as a native, he landed alone on the west coast near Cape Garnet, several hundred miles south of Morocco, pretending to the people of that region that he had been shipwrecked. At first he was treated with great barbarity as a captive, but he finally won their confidence, and spent five months wandering with them amid the oases of the western Sahara. The independent, nomad Moors of the desert, he says, are of three distinct races, the aboriginal Berbers, Arabs, and negroes. The Oulad Delim, into whose hands he fell, are unusually intelligent, speaking a pure Arabic founded upon the constant study of the Koran. They are monogamous, and treat their wives with the greatest affection and respect as the equals of the men. The girls share the education of the boys, learning to read and write with them, and consequently the women show an intellectual and moral elevation far beyond that of any other Moslem women. He makes the remarkable statement that their camels go "ordinairement" ten days without drinking; "en temps de sécheresse ils prolongent leur abstinence du double." M. Douls made his way along the coast to Morocco, where his disguise was discovered and he was thrown into prison, but was released at the request of the British Minister, who chanced to be in the city. A map, constructed with great difficulty, many observations being taken under the pretext of finding the direction of Mecca, shows the course of the author's wanderings, together with the character of the country and the position of the wells.

The double number of the *Library Journal* for the first two months of the year is unusually interesting and valuable. Mr. Charles H. Hull's "Helps for Cataloguers in Finding Full Names" is a very serviceable list, whose elaborateness implies both wide knowledge and great painstaking. It is, of course, a guide not more to proper names than to biographies. It fills more than fourteen pages. Mr. Paul Leicester Ford has a first paper on the "Private Libraries of New York." There is a supplementary list of public libraries in the United States of 1,000 volumes and upwards, in which Massachusetts, as usual, takes the lead; and plans and elevations of the new National Library

Building at Washington and the Mercantile Library Building at St. Louis accompany descriptions of these structures.

Miss Amelia B. Edwards, LL.D., who is to visit America next season, will deliver six lectures before the Peabody Institute in Baltimore, in December, on subjects of Egyptian exploration and Græco-Egyptian art, aided by lantern slides and illustrations. She is the first woman that has ever been invited to lecture before the Institute.

—The February *Shakespeariana* has an elaborate account of the four reproductions of the First Folio Shaksperian text which claim to be facsimiles. The first of these attempts, by Douce, in 1807, was a very meritorious work, and was at first believed immaculate. But its prestige faded when a mousing caviller came out with a list of three hundred and sixty-eight errata, "two grains of chaff in two bushels of wheat." He had sought well-nigh five months for this find, which he was only able to sell for a fresh copy of Douce's reprint. In this volume he fairly wrote out all the errata he had discovered, and thus made Douce's work absolutely perfect. There are now no spots on that sun. This very copy of Douce, with all the caviller's autograph corrections, a consummate flower, is now in the library of Horace Howard Furness in Philadelphia. Douce's work, of which only two hundred and fifty copies were printed, the writer in *Shakespeariana* declares to have "become almost as infrequent as a genuine First Folio, and, except in the larger libraries, to be inaccessible to the common student." This is exaggerating the rarity of the Douce edition. The ten thousand volumes in Asbury University by no means entitle it to be reckoned among "the larger libraries," but one of those volumes is Douce's rarity. That curiosity has been treasured for more than thirty years in the Asbury Library, which in 1880 was surpassed in the number of books by two hundred and twelve United States collections. The Douce Shakspeare, with some thousand other volumes, came to Asbury in the little Indiana village of Greencastle, from the estate of Thomas Ford, an early Governor of Illinois, who died in 1851. This book was clearly a favorite of the Governor, who had it bound in red morocco; and if he never chanced to hold up a leaf to the light so as to bring out the vertical water-mark, "Whatman," he may have died happy in believing himself the possessor of a veritable *editio princeps*. Many Asburians did die in the same delusion.

—Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett has a forcible and moving letter in the *Critic* for March 2 on the shameless way in which any one who has written a good book or a good play must expect to be treated by the newspapers in this country. It is not customary for a person who has made himself so interesting to the public that the reporter feels it a duty to describe the minutest details of his life, and to invent them if he cannot discover them, to make any protest against such outrageous treatment; but Mrs. Burnett has reached the conclusion that patient endurance is perhaps not the best remedy. It is difficult to see how her appeal can fail to have some effect upon even the most obdurate publishers and reporters. At all events, that portion of the community which would like to lead a decent and self-respecting existence cannot but be grateful to her for having made it. How is this shameless intrusion upon the private life of a public person to be put an end to if not by appealing to the better nature of such of the offenders as have a better nature, and by stirring up feelings of abhorrence on the part of the public towards such of them as

have not! The excuse which publishers and reporters always make is, that the fault lies with the readers, who are willing to pay their money for such wares. It may be true that the receiver is as bad as the thief, but society does not undertake to exterminate receivers of stolen goods in order to prevent the crime of stealing. The readers of this objectionable literature are obscure in station and countless in number; it is impossible for the reformer to have any effect upon them. The publisher and the reporter are in plain sight and in full hearing; it is upon them that the reformer's weapons must be brought to bear. As Mrs. Burnett points out, the present state of things is so painful to the victims of it that many modest people will doubtless be prevented from becoming great authors or dramatists from fear of exposing themselves to the reckless fabulizing of the newspaper reporter.

—Sir George Trevelyan has lately reprinted some of his early pieces, under the title 'Ladies in Parliament.' One of the best-known of them, "Horace at the University of Athens," recalls an old Cambridge scandal. Sir George had been graduated Second Classic, and was looking forward to a Trinity fellowship. He failed of an election, and this was believed to be due to his having written the "Horace," which originally contained such lines as these:

"The fellowships have gone, save one in three,  
In inverse ratio to the degree;  
And we expect next year a Junior Op.  
Will, by the aid of book-work, come out top."

These lines were cut out of the first edition, but became known in a way that Sir George explains in the following note:

"In the first edition the above four lines, the dearest the author ever penned, were suppressed at the last moment, and fresh matter substituted. But a thrifty bookbinder used the rejected pages to strengthen the covers of a certain number of copies; so that the reader could gratify his curiosity by the simple process of holding up the binding to the light. Few could be induced to believe that the author was not a party to this suicidal policy."

—For several years the functions of the National Board of Health in relation to epidemics have been transferred to and discharged by the Marine Hospital Service, whose ordinary duty is the care of sick and disabled seamen. It is in this way that the last annual report of the medical officer at the head of this subdivision of the Treasury Department contains an account of the yellow fever of 1888 in Florida. The report itself is for the fiscal year ending June 30, but it is dated October 24, and contains the history of the epidemic down to November 20. The disease held over at Tampa from 1887, having been introduced there from Key West, where it was imported from Havana. The statistics for the State do not appear to have been compiled, but in Jacksonville more than 4,600 cases were reported, with less than 10 per cent. mortality. This is so slight a death-rate as to excite the suspicion that many malarial patients were confused with these, unless, it may be, the negro population, for whom no separate statistics are preserved, contributed an undue proportion of light cases. The most valuable part of this volume of 400 pages (taken up, indeed, with many other matters than this disease) is a paper by Dr. Guitéras on the natural history of these epidemics. Dr. Guitéras, who has had special facilities for this study, does not believe that natives of yellow-fever countries have exemption from the disease, although this is not the common doctrine. He contends that their apparent immunity depends upon protection derived from attacks in childhood, generally unrecognized at the time. He also thinks that the specific cause may lie dormant in favora-

ble situations, as foul latrines, for months, and that certain years, by their meteorological conditions, are more favorable than others for the development of the disease. He does not refer to the doctrine (and probably does not accept it) that, under favorable conditions of filth and temperature, micro-organisms ordinarily innocuous may, through multiple natural cultures, in a single season develop a virulence sufficient to give rise to the disease by exactly the reverse process from that by which the artificial cultures of the bacteriologists attenuate and render useful as preventives the virus of chicken cholera and of other infectious disorders. But the Floridian has doubtless more to fear from Cuba than from such transformations. Dr. Guitéras's paper is worth reprinting as a contribution to the permanent literature of the disease.

—When the great work of Professor Reusch of Bonn, 'Der Index der verbotenen Bücher,' was completed some years since, we called attention to its wonderful accumulation of facts illustrating almost every department of literary and religious history during the last three centuries. Since then he has not been idle. In 1886 he bestowed another valuable gift on students by publishing his 'Indices Librorum prohibitorum des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts,' a verbatim reprint of the Indexes which appeared in all the countries of Europe, from the early tentative lists of dangerous books to the Index of Clement VIII. in 1596. As many of these are among the rarest of bibliographical curiosities, it was a service of no little value thus to render them accessible. For a while Reusch's attention was diverted to a cognate subject by coöperating with the veteran Von Döllinger in producing the curious and interesting 'Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten in der römisch-catholischen Kirche,' the second volume of which appeared but a few months since. He has now resumed his previous labors with a reprint of the 1580 Index of Parma—a broadside of which but a single copy is known—and has accompanied it with exhaustive notes such as he alone could furnish. The whole series of these publications is indispensable to every student of modern spiritual and intellectual development. They are not books for the superficial reader, but no one who has enjoyed the assistance of their marvellous wealth of accurate details, rendered easy of reference by satisfactory indexes, will ever willingly be without them.

#### AN INDIA AND A CHINA MISSIONARY.

Stephen Hislop, Pioneer Missionary and Naturalist in Central India from 1844 to 1863. By George Smith, C.I.E., LL.D. London: Murray. 1888.

*The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams, LL.D., Missionary, Diplomatist, Sino-logue.* By his son, F. W. Williams. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

THERE has been a good deal of hot discussion in England upon the question whether the missionary enterprises of the Protestant churches have been successful or not. As regards India, more perhaps than any other country, nothing could be more superfluous. It is in Southern India that the Protestant missions have been most successful. There converts are numbered, not by tens or fifties, but by hundreds and thousands, and the reason of this is that in no other part of India is the spirit of caste so arrogant, so exclusive, so brutally oppressive as here. By the Brahmins, the lower castes were uniformly treated as a great deal worse than the beasts that perish. All

the avenues of life were sealed up against them. They were regarded as the abject slaves of those above them; they lived upon offal and diseased meat; they passed their lives in hunger, cold, and nakedness; they could never hope to rise beyond the worse than bestial condition in which they were born. When the Protestant missionaries came among these forlorn and miserable outcasts, their words fell upon mindseager to listen, and they embraced Christianity literally by thousands. What has been the result? In all these Christian villages, in the place of the old degraded outcast population, we have thriving industrial communities, decently clothed, decently instructed, delivered from a servitude too frightful for any one to realize who has not witnessed it.

But while much has been accomplished, the present condition of these villages is only an earnest of what may be reasonably expected. The generation has hardly passed away which was redeemed from bestiality and savagery. For the full effect of this astonishing transformation we must wait for a future generation, entering, so to speak, from its birth, not only upon the Christian life, but upon the whole civilizing inheritance of the Western world. This levelling up of the lower castes is the one way in which the social regeneration of India is practicable; and clearly it could not have been set into motion except by religious societies acting independently of the State.

There is another aspect of missionary work in India which is wholly ignored by those who try it by commercial tests. Among the British in India, whether belonging to the official, mercantile, legal, or any other class, not one man in a hundred would enter the country if he could get his living without doing so. Speaking generally, we may say with very little exaggeration that all Anglo-Indians hate the country, hate the climate, and dislike the people. The one great object of their lives is to get out of the country as soon as they possibly can. Englishmen are charitable enough when resident among their own people, but in India there are only a few who think of exercising this virtue for the benefit of the natives. They come to the country, they grow rich, and then pass away, leaving no traces behind by which the people could recall their presence with a sense of gratitude. The Christian missionary relieves and mollifies the bad effects produced by this hard and unsympathetic type of character. He alone of all Europeans in India seeks for nothing from the people except that they should grant him a hearing. He alone comes among them with gifts in his hand, with a desire to benefit, not himself, but them. The good is really incalculable which has been effected in India by missionaries of the type of the German Schwartz, and by Carey, Marshman, Ward, and others who might be named. These have been mediators between the State and the people, moralizing the former and awakening the confidence of the latter.

The career of Stephen Hislop, the subject of the biography before us, is an example of this. He was a member of the Free Church of Scotland, a man possessed of no exceptional gifts or attainments, who went to India, driven thither by an earnest and single-minded desire to save its people from a degrading and vicious idolatry. The city of Nagour, in Central India, was the starting point and centre of his labors. When, in the year 1844, he arrived there, this city and the province which bore its name were ruled by a Mahratta sovereign. The population of the city was largely composed of high-caste Brahmins, who enjoyed in a special degree the favor and protection of the Mahratta Court, and of fanatical Moslems. There had,



previous to his coming, been one or two feeble efforts at starting a mission, but these had died away, leaving no sign behind them, and Hislop may be regarded as the first Christian missionary who appeared among the people of Central India. The prospect before him was anything but hopeful. To the native Court, the Brahmans, and the Moslems he could not but be a disagreeable and unwelcome intruder. Nor was he otherwise regarded by the great majority of his own countrymen residing in Nagpur or the neighboring military cantonment. In those days, the curious belief still held possession of English minds, that the natives would patiently submit to any amount of injury and oppression so long as no Christian missionary was allowed to appear among them. True it was that these obnoxious personages had established themselves in a good many places without producing the popular outbreaks which had been anticipated; but this, so far from reconciling the laity to their presence, made them only more anxious to preserve the unvisited parts of India from the contamination of their presence.

Undaunted, however, either by indifference or open opposition, Hislop began his labors single-handed. The number of his converts was not great, but the earnest, charitable disposition of the man won the affections of the people. They sent their children in increasing numbers to the schools which he opened. They learned to converse openly and freely with him, so that his influence among them, and his knowledge of their veritable wants and wishes, made him an authority whom the British officials were glad to consult. In 1853, the State of Nagpur was incorporated with British India by Lord Dalhousie. In 1857, this and similar high-handed acts, combined with the grievous misrule which prevailed over nearly the whole extent of British India, produced their natural consequences in the great outbreak of 1857. Then it was that Hislop's philanthropic labors enabled him to render a service to the State and his own countrymen which went far towards the salvation of the Empire.

The population of Nagpur had witnessed with much resentment the loss of their independence; and the revolt of the Sepoy army seemed to invite them to make an effort for its recovery. They conspired with the native regiments cantoned in the neighborhood to rise at a given signal, murder the whole British community, and restore the old royal family to power. Had this design succeeded, it is absolutely certain that the Moslem state of Haidarabad, which is contiguous with Nagpur, would have followed its example, and British authority in the Madras Presidency would have ceased as completely as it had already in the northwest provinces, Oudh and Behar. But there was a certain Mohammedan of the name of Feiz Baksh, residing in Nagpur, whose children had been educated at one of Mr. Hislop's schools. He himself had been a frequent visitor at the missionary's house, and he could not endure the thought of allowing his friend and his family to be ruthlessly murdered without a word of warning from him. He revealed to Hislop the danger that was impending over him and his countrymen just in time for measures of precaution to be taken. The conspiracy was defeated and Southern India saved.

It was several years after the suppression of the mutiny that Nagpur, with two or three other large provinces, was formed into a separate government under the name of "Central Provinces." At this time, almost the only Englishman in India who knew anything of the people or the country in the more inaccessible

parts of Central India was Stephen Hislop. Indefatigable in his work, it had been his custom, year after year, to traverse the country in all directions for the purpose of preaching in the villages. He found among the forests a large aboriginal population, the Gonds, whose language he was the first to reduce to written character, and of which he compiled a grammar and dictionary. In these wanderings he slept frequently in the villages where he had been preaching, partaking of the same food as the villagers had prepared for themselves, and conversing with them on a footing of social equality. No official, even if he desired, could have imitated him in these practices. A native has far too great a distrust of the powers that be to open the secret places of his mind to them. A missionary of the type of Hislop—one who is neither official nor policeman, nor trader nor planter—is the only European who can ever learn anything about the native as he really is—the genuine, unsophisticated article.

Mr. (now Sir Richard) Temple, who had been appointed first Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, had the wit to see the value of such a helper in the work he had been ordered to do. He sought his advice and assistance in the working out of every project for ameliorating the condition of the people. For the last few years of his life, the once friendless and forlorn Scotch missionary became, without official rank or salary, without effort or design of his own, a power in the state. He was accidentally drowned at the early age of forty-three. "He had," writes Sir Richard Temple, "become a shining light, a power for good; and, had he lived, he would have become an instrument of incalculable benefit to the people. It is sad to think what lofty hopes, what bright promises, were buried in his grave."

Of sturdy Welsh and New England stock, Samuel Wells Williams, the oldest of fourteen children, was born at Utica, N. Y., September 22, 1812. More dangerous than any of his perils in China, or on Perry's ships in Japanese waters, was his first infantile adventure. Owing to his mother's ill-health, he was put in the care of a maiden aunt, who, after the fashion of the time, carried a muff not much smaller than a beer-keg. During a sleigh-ride from New Hartford to Utica, Samuel, the baby, was stowed away inside the muff, which, during a capsize of the sleigh, was thrown out in the snow. Extricating herself and vehicle, the worthy spinster drove on, mindful only of her own safety. On coming to remembrance of the object of her visit, she discovered the loss of her muff and its contents. "Shall I go back?" she queried. "Yes, for God may have something for him to do; moreover, I cannot spare the muff." So the future sinologue was recovered along with the hand-warmer. He lived to thank his aunt for many other favors.

What book-knowledge the boy received was at village schools—the Utica High School and the Polytechnic Institute at Troy; in which, along with a fair English education, he obtained a good grounding in the natural sciences. When twenty years old, he was appointed by Dr. Rufus Anderson to go out as missionary printer to China. In those days the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was a union society, supported by Christians of different denominations, instead of being, as it is now, a Congregational corporation at war with Congregational polity. In the freshness of its first energy, theological questions were of less importance than practical missionary work. After six months' hasty apprenticeship in all the departments of book-making, Williams sailed from Boston in October, 1833, in

the American ship *Morrison*. He arrived at Whampoa, and, through the great fleet of East India merchantmen which lined the river for three miles or more, was rowed up to Canton. Thenceforth, for forty-two years, he made this land the field, and the Chinese people the object, of his labors. From the first he wisely guarded his health, taking regular exercise and recreation, being all the more able thereby to perform an amount of labor that surprised most foreigners. He made two visits to the United States, during the first of which he delivered lectures on China to raise a "type fund" to pay for punches and matrices for his font of Chinese metal type. These lectures, when written out, were published in book form, and for thirty years the sale of the resulting brace of volumes, "The Middle Kingdom," was steady, though never large.

Three times he entered Japanese waters, twice abiding on land. In the *Morrison* in 1837, he was fired on, and, unable to disembark the shipwrecked Japanese, returned with them to China, learning their language, and translating into it the Gospels. When Commodore Perry succeeded the much-abused Anlick—the victim of lying tittle-tattle and the mysteries of the Washington naval office—Dr. Williams was appointed interpreter to the expedition. Like most foreigners essaying Japanese, the word *keredomo* was very often on his lips, and the native interpreters nicknamed him "Mr. But." Later, in 1852, he again visited the country, laughingly telling the writer of this review that he was very glad he declined Commodore Perry's desire that he should write a book on Japan, notwithstanding the fact that usually a man can tell the public more about a new country when his impressions are fresh and he doesn't know much about it, than he can after knowing more. Dr. Williams's journal, kept during the negotiations, is of great value, and the Commodore in his folio volume made very liberal quotations from it. Dr. Williams and the Commodore always got on well, except that the sailor's profanity was very distasteful to the scholar. Characteristic of this guileless man was his repayment into the missionary treasury of the entire amount of his salary as interpreter received from the United States Government.

The mechanical and linguistic difficulties surmounted, and the progress made, by this industrious printer, during the twenty-five years' existence of the Mission Press at Canton and Macao, are clearly set forth in the letters and journals from which the biographer has so liberally made extracts. Most of the printer's work was of the sort intended to make the Chinese and Westerners acquainted with each other's speech and thought. The total output was 38,000 volumes, not counting pamphlets. The press earned by its publications and jobs \$12,000 over and above expenses. Of the valuable *Chinese Repository*, mostly edited and largely filled by Dr. Williams, 23,000 copies were printed. When, in 1857, the printing office was totally consumed in the incendiary fire by which the Chinese destroyed also the factories, and caused for a while a total cessation of trade, Dr. Williams entered provisionally upon his services as American Secretary of the Legation of the United States, which, as it turned out, he served until 1877. To the temporary sojourners in the Middle Kingdom sent out from Washington, and acting as American envoys, the services of so experienced a scholar and diplomatist, in whom the Chinese reposed the highest confidence, were invaluable. On returning to the United States in 1877, Dr. Williams revised his great work on China, filled the chair of Professor of Chinese

at New Haven, and remained to the end of his days the courteous gentleman, genial friend, helper of the poor and needy, cultured scholar, and devout Christian. He died on February 16, 1884.

The biographical volume by his son is a handsome octavo of 490 pages, on good paper, with wide margins. The style is clear and pleasant, and the text interwoven between the letters and extracts is sufficient in quantity and quality. A good steel portrait of Dr. Williams's Hebrew-like countenance, and a capital index, complete the equipment of this monument which filial love has raised in honor of a useful and beautiful life. In character, Dr. Williams was a man of stainless purity, generous, sympathetic, and honored by all. The moral force of his personality is still unspent, and his writings in English and Chinese will continue for generations to assist in the solution of the problem resulting from the contact of a progressive with an ultra-conservative civilization. In his learning he was a scholar of the old-fashioned sort, largely lacking in the important critical faculty. No one is likely ever again to attempt an encyclopædic work on China such as he wrote. With the new learning in sinology represented by Mayer, Terrien de la Couperie, and the brilliant and possibly flippant young scholars of the North China Asiatic Society, he had no patience or sympathy. With the "new theology," so called by him, he had less either of understanding or appreciation. He was, in his limitations, a man of his age; in character, he was a man of all the ages.

#### ROGERS'S ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY.

*The Economic Interpretation of History: Lectures delivered in Worcester College Hall, Oxford, 1887-1888.* By James E. Thorold Rogers, Professor of Political Economy in Oxford, and of Economic Science and Statistics in King's College, London. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

THIS volume comprises twenty-three lectures given before the students of Oxford University. It may be remembered that some twenty years ago Prof. Rogers was deprived of a lectureship in Oxford on account of his then advanced views on industrial questions, or, as he himself states the case, "because he traced certain social mischiefs to their origin"; and the lectures now printed comprise, we understand, his first public utterances upon being restored to his former position as a member of the instructing body of that venerable institution. It is certainly proof that the world moves, and that rapidly, if the conservative views which find expression in these lectures could, twenty years ago, have caused a University instructor to have been deprived of a lectureship.

The title of the book is misleading. A definite and somewhat narrow meaning is ordinarily attached to the phrase "economic interpretation of history." By it one understands that the flow of national life is to be explained in the light of economic events. Such an interpretation must of necessity be systematic in its arrangement, orderly in its unfolding, and comprehensive in its treatment. It ought to show, to use the words of our author, "how very often the cause of political events is economical." It ought to leave the impression, as our author in another place declares, that to omit or to neglect these economical facts "is to make the study of history barren, and its annals unreal." It cannot, of course, be asserted that this book is of no assistance in the interpretation of history, for its pages are re-

plete with economic facts of all sorts; but it is certainly within the bounds of truth to say that the lectures do not present an economic interpretation of history in the broad and scholarly meaning of that phrase. They meet much more nearly the requirements of an historical interpretation of economy, although that title would not accurately describe them. What Prof. Rogers has here done, and done excellently well, is to bring his immense store of economic knowledge, gathered from an exhaustive study of English industrial life, to the support of opinions held by him as an economist, and of conclusions entertained by him as a statesman.

It may not be out of place to support this view of the work before us by a closer study of one or two of the chapters which it contains. Its scope is indicated by the following headings, taken at random from the table of contents: "Diplomacy and Trade"; "The Distribution of Wealth in England at Different Epochs"; "The History of Agricultural Rents in England"; "The Origin and Progress of Pauperism in England"; "Historical Effects of High and Low Prices"; "*Laissez-Faire*: Its Origin and History," and others of the same sort. Let us consider for a moment the method of treatment for the two last mentioned. In a discussion of the historical effect of high and low prices there is certainly clear sailing for one who desires to give an economic interpretation of history. It is only necessary to state the facts of fluctuating prices and to trace their effects on the development of national life. But Prof. Rogers does not follow this line of presentation. Beginning his discussion with a statement of Gregory King's well-known law of prices, he expands that law into five general principles, and supplements these principles by three historical events which work as potent causes in the fluctuation of prices. The principles are as follows: (1.) The price of any article rises or falls by a different ratio from that indicated by the ascertained amount of its deficiency or surplus. (2.) The operation of the above law is always most dominant in articles of prime necessity. (3.) If in the scarcity or plenty which prevails there are several articles that can be used interchangeably, the greatest rise of price will attach to the article ordinarily the cheapest, and the greatest fall in price to the article ordinarily the dearest. (4.) For goods whose consumption is voluntary, an excess of supply will be followed by a fall in price to the present cost of production, but an excess in demand will, through a rise in price, be followed by unusual activity in trade. (5.) A rise of prices in the necessities of life will not tend to increase the amount of employment, but a rise of prices in articles of voluntary consumption will increase both profits and wages. The three historical events which work as factors on prices are: movements in the supply of gold and silver, diminished cost of production resulting from inventions, and diminished cost of transportation.

Now, says our author, "if we are able to grasp the five general laws of prices which I have given, . . . and the three causes, . . . we shall be on the way to interpret the facts past and present which I have to lay before you." This is certainly promising. It sounds quite plausible, and yet the reader who comes to this chapter expecting to learn from it the effect of fluctuating prices on the growth of society, will surely be disappointed. The truth is, movements in prices have exerted greater influence upon the fate of nations than the ambition of kings or the reasoning of philosophers, and to trace their subtle influence cannot be evaded by one who assumes to write "an eco-

nomie interpretation of history." But Prof. Rogers does not conceive this to lie within the task he has undertaken. There is scarcely a fact mentioned in this chapter that is not an economic fact. The author makes no attempt to mark out the broader line of study. His sole aim seems to be to support his laws of prices by reference to history. He is contented if he can say, "The laws affecting prices are illustrated to the full." His treatise is a treatise in economy rather than in history.

Our disappointment is of the same sort when we turn to the discussion of "*Laissez-faire*: its History and Origin," although in this case it is the practical statesman and not the practical economist that directs the discussion. There is perhaps no subject in the entire range of scholarly research more worthy of profound investigation than that of the historical origin of the doctrine of *laissez-faire* and its influence on modern social relations; but instead of outlining such a treatment as this, which is, of course, all that could be done in a single lecture, our author presents to us a homily on state interference, and illustrates his conclusions by running comments on certain laws and reforms of the nineteenth century.

It may appear to some that this review is captious in its criticism; it has not, however, been written in that spirit. The important services of Prof. Rogers to the advancement of economic history have been frequently recognized on this side of the Atlantic. It is largely through the study of his writings that American scholars have come to appreciate the grandeur and the importance of an economic interpretation of history; and it seems almost like disloyalty to the master who has taught us so much, to admit that this bundle of lectures properly suggests the scope of such a study. And it should be remembered also, in this connection, that one duty of a reviewer is to guard readers against the purchase of books they do not want, but which they are tempted to buy on account of an inviting title. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to say that if one is searching for an economic interpretation of history in the broad and philosophical sense of that term, he will not find it in this volume; but if, on the other hand, one desires access to a fund of useful information pertaining to the industrial life of the past, there is no book, so far as we know, to compare with this one. It could not have been written except by a man of Prof. Rogers's experience in life. It speaks of the House of Commons as well as of the professor's chair. It shows its author to be a man of affairs as well as a close student of industries. Its pungent comments on past events, its trenchant criticisms on the actors in history, as well as its common-sense comments on passing events, make this collection of essays worth the appreciative attention of every intelligent reader. The book is a full book in every sense of the word because the life of its writer has been a full life. Under another title it would receive our highest commendation.

One sentence in the volume before us has been severely handled by the protectionist newspapers in this country, viz.: "The protectionist tariff of Mr. Morrill was in great part, as I have heard alleged by eminent American statesmen, the price paid for the allegiance of the manufacturing East." This is erroneous, of course. Prof. Rogers was probably told, and has only vaguely remembered, that the Chicago Convention of 1860, which nominated Mr. Lincoln the year before the war, in its anxiety to secure the electoral vote of Pennsylvania, adopted a resolution which the politicians of that State construed to mean protection, although the language employed was not very



clear. "The manufacturing East" (by which term we commonly mean New England) was at that time inclining to free trade. Certainly her "allegiance" needed not that any price should be paid for it.

#### RECENT LAW BOOKS.

THE steady growth in the volume of the law is illustrated not only in the constant accumulation of reports and statutes, but in the growth in bulk of the text-books which comment upon and discuss these. Mr. James W. Gerard's well-known and excellent treatise on the 'Law Applicable to Titles to Real Estate in the State of New York' (Baker, Voorhis & Co.) originally appeared twenty years ago in a little volume of four hundred pages; the second edition, published only four years later, contained nearly eight hundred. After a lapse of fifteen years, the present revision appears, containing nearly a thousand, and yet no conveyancer or lawyer at all familiar with the subject will say that there is a page too many. The revisers have throughout, we believe, had the assistance of the author's supervision, so that the work is his as much as ever, a fact which, to those who know his thoroughness and keen professional sense, is an additional warrant that the work is well done.

The book has one feature which for practical purposes is decidedly important—it is confined to, and purports to give only, the law of a single State. There are very few heads of the law which can be treated in this way. The writer on Contracts, on Evidence, on Damages, on Bailments has to draw for his material upon every quarter of those portions of the globe which have inherited the common law. The conflicting statutes and contradictory decisions of different jurisdictions make it often difficult for him, and sometimes impossible, to arrive at and state settled principles. Mr. Gerard was fortunate in a subject which was not hampered in this way. Real-estate law is with us peculiarly local. Titles are nothing if not local. Consequently, if Mr. Gerard's book is chiefly of interest to the New York lawyer, it is to him of the greater value for that very reason. In tracing the history of a doctrine or the interpretation of a statute, he is not perpetually distracted from the local beaten track by paths and by-ways which lead off to the bogs and morasses of remote or alien jurisdictions; and at the end of his investigation he has no doubt that he has obtained that great desideratum of the practising lawyer—a clue to a knowledge of the law as it is. A very large proportion of this book is of course statutory. For this and other reasons it has long been a *vade-mecum* for the New York conveyancer. Its strength lies rather in the completeness with which it brings the cases into bearing upon the local statutes than in any other feature.

The American State Reports, vols. i and ii (San Francisco: Bancroft-Whitney Co.), begin a new series of those selections from the law reports of this country, accompanied by annotations, which have proved very useful and acceptable. This one is edited by a practised and well-approved hand, Mr. A. C. Freeman; his notes add to the value of the books—such notes, for example, as those on the "Police Power of the States," and the sale of "Futures" in volume i, and on "Burglary," and the summary jurisdiction of courts to punish for contempt, in volume ii.

He who has the time and money and shelf-room to spare for them will find nothing so good as that remarkable and complete series of the reports of all the courts of last resort in the country—including also the decisions in the

lower Federal Courts—which the West Publishing Co. supply. But not every one can afford forty dollars a year for that. There will be many who prefer to obtain for twenty-four dollars the six stout volumes a year of such a series as this of the American State Reports, with the fuller apparatus of notes which it supplies. In one way or another, it is getting to be almost essential that lawyers should explore widely the reports of other States than their own; and that is good, for it will tend to improve and unify the law of our States.

In the volume entitled 'Table of Cases and Index to the Notes in the 160 Volumes of American Decisions and American Reports' (San Francisco: Bancroft-Whitney Company), those who possess the two series preceding that of the American State Reports above mentioned, will find an important key to the convenient use of them. Indeed, the "Index to the Monographic Notes," arranged according to the subjects discussed, will prove worth having for any one who has merely access to these volumes in a library.

Mr. Wm. C. Cochran's 'Students' Law Lexicon' (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., pp. vii, 332) is a compact little book, likely to be serviceable to students. It has very good and full appendices, giving explanations of such abbreviations and references as are usually found in law books, and also a collection of foreign law maxims and phrases, with translations. The definitions appear to be mainly accurate and neat. Two criticisms might be made: (1) that it is not correct to describe the *procipe quod reddat* as a writ commanding the defendant to do a certain thing; and (2) that the author, in describing the year-books, leaves his reader ignorant that there are now five printed volumes of an earlier reign than that which he names as the earliest.

The second volume of 'The Anglo-Indian Codes,' edited by Whitley Stokes, D.C.L. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan), is entitled "Adjective Law," and deals with the Code of Criminal Procedure, the Code of Civil Procedure, and the Evidence Act. Each is preceded by an introduction, giving its history and a general idea of its contents. In foot-notes to the various sections, the editor gives the rulings of the courts thereunder, together with comments of his own when necessary. The two volumes of which this is the second, the first dealing with "Substantive Law," will be of great use to those having a practical interest in the codification of the law.

Mr. Charles R. Miller's 'Law of Conditional Sales' (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.), a volume of 196 pages, 66 of which are appropriated to an index, while the subject indicated by the title of the book occupies only 62 pages, is not a book which a lawyer in a position to consult any late American edition of Benjamin on Sales need refer to.

'The Law of Landlord and Tenant,' by H. L. Gear, and 'The Law of Wills,' by Charles Fisk Beach, assisted by Edwin E. Pratt—both published in San Francisco by the Bancroft-Whitney Co.—belong to the "pony series," and are evidently the result of patient and conscientious work. They will be found to be very useful handbooks to have on one's table, though they cannot take the place of the larger treatises. Typographically, nothing can be said in their favor.

The first edition of Abraham Clarke Freeman's 'The Law of Executions' (San Francisco: Bancroft-Whitney Co.) is so well known to and so highly esteemed by the legal profession that any extended notice of the present edition is unnecessary. The author has not confined himself to collecting cases

relating to questions treated in the first edition, but, besides adding much new matter concerning executions as a remedy for enforcing common-law judgments, has treated the question of enforcing decrees in equity, and has added two entirely new chapters relating to Chancery sales. Mr. Freeman has done his work conscientiously and well.

*Le Marquis de Jouffroy d'Abbas, Inventeur de l'Application de la Vapeur à la Navigation.* Par J. C. Alfred Prost. Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1889.

M. PROST'S work is an elaborate attempt to vindicate for the Marquis de Jouffroy the honor of the first application of steam to navigation. Excepting only as regards Jouffroy himself, it contains few facts not already well known. After a very long account of the ancestry of the Marquis, we have some details of his early youth, not without interest, and going to show that his taste for mechanics was developed at an early age. At fourteen he became one of the pages of the Dauphin; at twenty he entered the regiment of Bourbon as sub-lieutenant. The account of his early years is followed by a chapter on the history of the various projects for the application of forces other than that of the wind, in moving vessels. We need notice here only the fact that in 1737 Jonathan Hulls in England took out a patent for vessels with paddles to be moved by Newcomen's engine. There is no evidence to show that this plan was ever actually put in practice, but it clearly appears that, after the capital improvement made by Watt in 1765, the idea of a possible application of steam in navigation was widely entertained, and that the age was ripe for the invention of Jouffroy. In 1772 an association of persons interested in the problem of steam navigation was formed in France. It consisted of the Marquis Ducrest, the Count d'Auxiron, the Chevalier de Follenay, the Count Jouffroy d'Uzelles, uncle of the inventor, and others of less note. This society constructed from the plans of D'Auxiron a steam vessel which was launched upon the Seine in 1773, but which foundered near Meudon, leaving no record of its success or failure.

D'Auxiron died shortly after, and a new association was formed, consisting of his heirs and of Ducrest, Jouffroy the inventor, and Périér—the last an engineer at the head of a large iron-foundry. This association obtained from the Minister Bertin the promise of an exclusive privilege of steam navigation such as had been accorded to D'Auxiron, provided that Jouffroy's plans should be approved by the Academy of Sciences. Serious differences at once arose between Périér and the young Marquis. Périér launched upon the Seine a boat with a single-acting engine which failed completely. Jouffroy then left the association and set out for Franche-Comté to attack the problem alone. He selected the small village of Baume-les-Dames as his place of work, and in June, 1776, his first boat was launched. It was forty feet long and six feet wide. In place of paddles it had a system of oars articulated together, devised in 1760 by Genevois, an ecclesiastic of Berne. This vessel navigated the river Doubs in June and July of 1776. Jouffroy soon recognized the defects of his first vessel, and applied himself at Lyons to the construction of a second, which was completed in 1783. This was forty-six metres in length and four and one-half metres in breadth. It had paddle-wheels, could move against the current of the Saône, and for sixteen months plied between Lyons and Macon.

Jouffroy applied to Calonne, Comptroller-

General of the Finances, for an exclusive right of steam navigation. Calonne referred this request to the Academy of Sciences, which named as members of a commission the Abbé Bossut, Cousin, and Périer, the engineer and rival of Jouffroy. At the instigation of Périer, as appears probable, the Academy required new experiments, and Calonne declined to grant the privilege asked for unless Jouffroy would construct a vessel capable of transporting 300,000 pounds against the stream. The "concession" would then be granted for fifteen years. There seems to be little doubt that Jouffroy's defeat was due to the jealousy and malice of Périer. In 1784 Jouffroy, who was ignorant of Périer's feeling towards him, made overtures to his enemy to construct a double-acting steam engine of which he had prepared plans and drawings, as well as a model on a scale of one-twenty-fifth. Périer wrote in February, 1785, that such a machine would cost one hundred thousand livres, and that he would undertake it if the company which Jouffroy had formed would raise that sum. Jouffroy, whose finances were utterly exhausted, saw that the case was hopeless. On the breaking out of the Revolution he joined the Royalist army, but, after the peace of Lunéville, returned to France. To obtain materials for his work he pulled down part of his château, but it does not appear that he constructed another vessel at that time.

In 1806 he returned to Paris, but of the next ten years of his life we have no details. In 1816 Jouffroy constructed a new vessel, called the *Charles Philippe*, after the Comte d'Artois. This also appears to have been a success, but our author gives us no specific account of its performance. Soon after, a powerful company formed at Paris openly took up the steamboat as the invention of Fulton; and Jouffroy, completely ignored, returned to the province to continue his work in poverty and neglect. A vessel called the *Persévérant* was, however, constructed at the expense of a new company. The Parisian company succeeded in preventing the necessary subscriptions to the capital of its provincial rival, and Jouffroy at last saw that the struggle was vain, and retired. After years of poverty and neglect he was admitted to the Hôtel des Invalides, where in 1832 he died of cholera. The honors which were denied him during his life came at last. In 1884 the Municipal Council of the city of Paris decided that a street should bear his name, and on the 17th of August of the same year a statue was erected in his honor at Besançon.

M. Prost's work has evidently been a labor of love. It is certainly a valuable contribution to the history of steam navigation, but to one who seeks only the cold facts upon which to form a judgment, it is very hard reading. We have to wade through page after page of rhetoric and sentiment to get at details which are not always given with the necessary fulness and accuracy. But the case of the inventor is, on the whole, well if not impartially stated. M. Prost gives extracts from letters of Fulton, which are interesting and valuable if perfectly authentic. In 1802 Fulton launched upon the Seine a small steam vessel which, according to Jouffroy, was a copy of his own. In one of the letters referred to, Fulton says that if the honor of inventing the "pyrescaphe" belongs to any one, it is to Jouffroy. In another letter he says, according to our author (for the passage is not cited verbatim), that he himself has invented nothing. It is to be regretted that these letters are not published in full.

Whether we are to consider Jouffroy or Fulton the inventor of steam navigation will de-

pend upon what we mean by invention. Jouffroy firmly grasped an idea which was not his own—or at least not new—carried out that idea in practice, basing it upon correct scientific principles, and yet failed to become the true introducer of the system, though he devoted to it the peace and happiness of a long life. Fulton also took up an idea which was not new, and carried that idea to a successful permanent application, in the face of many obstacles. With the experiment upon the Hudson in 1807, the era of steam navigation began. The no less successful experiment on the Saône in 1783 led to nothing. In any case, the place of Claude François Dorothee de Jouffroy among great inventors is secure.

*Un Pèlerinage au Pays d'Évangéline.* Par l'Abbé H. R. Casgrain. Deuxième édition. Quebec. 1888. Svo, 544 pp.

THERE is more in this book than its fanciful title imports. The author seems to have been thrown into a state of intense chronic excitement by the two chapters on the Acadians in Mr. Parkman's 'Montcalm and Wolfe.' At least, ever since their publication in 1884, he has been writing books and articles against them. He has chosen to make the question a national and religious one, and hence the remarkable heat with which he has pursued his task; a difficult one, in view of the awkward circumstance that Mr. Parkman not only stated unwelcome truths, but proved them by unanswerable French and Catholic evidence. Moreover, in 1886 Sir Adams Archibald, late Governor of Nova Scotia, read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, of which he is the President, a paper on the same subject, written in a spirit equally just and humane, in which he expressed the same conclusions as those of Mr. Parkman, and gave his reasons for them.

Here was an added stimulus to the active pen of Abbé Casgrain, who had already published a series of articles in a French Canadian journal, and printed them in a volume under the title given above. Then followed two or more papers which he read before the Royal Society of Canada; then another series of articles running for a year through the numbers of a Canadian review; then the same articles with some changes and additions, printed in a second and enlarged edition of the 'Pèlerinage'—that goodly octavo of 544 pages which is the subject of this notice—the whole forming a vast and heterogeneous monograph, backed by a prodigious quantity of documents gathered in Canada, Nova Scotia, France, England, and the United States. These documents have also been printed, along with a profusion of notes and comments; and the whole amazing array of letter-press is set in motion to overwhelm the two chapters which are the head and front of the offending. Clearly, the sense of humor is wanting in the mind of the fervent author. If every subject of American history were treated on the same scale in proportion to its importance, some of them would fill whole libraries, and the world could not contain the books that would be written.

It is curious that after all this immense preparation Abbé Casgrain has not ventured to attack the allegations that have so distressed him, but has only railed at them from a distance. The position of Mr. Parkman and Sir Adams Archibald is this: They declare that the removal of the Acadians was an act too harsh and indiscriminate to be justified, and they do not attempt to conceal the cruelties that attended it. At the same time they show that the story has two sides; that the sufferers were victims as much of Frenchmen and Catho-

lics as of Englishmen and Protestants, and that the government of Louis XV., through agents civil, military, and ecclesiastical, intrigued to stir up the Acadian subjects of the British crown to revolt against it in time of peace; that these intrigues were attended with terrorism and cruelty to the Acadians themselves, and treachery, outrage, and murder to the English settlers, and that they produced at last in the Acadian population a state of things which, in the words of Mr. Parkman, "made some act of force on the part of the English a necessity"; that, in short, without these intrigues the removal of this unfortunate people would have had neither reason nor pretext, and therefore would not have taken place. Mr. Parkman proves his statements by the correspondence of the intriguers themselves, still preserved in the archives of France.

Abbé Casgrain has been more than once reminded that he must meet these statements squarely or lose his case. He has not accepted the challenge. What he has done is to scour archives and libraries for everything that could tell against the hated "Anglais" and the yet more hated "Yankee," and to record the results with a passionate prolixity, matchless in its way. As for the ugly truths which he was invited to attack, he lets them severely alone, and follows, or tries to follow, the advice of *Dogberry* to the constables when they had fallen foul of a culprit too muscular to handle, "Let him go, and thank God you are rid of a knave." But the ugly truth will not go. Once or twice only he fancies that he sees an opportunity to make a fierce demonstration against some small point of no bearing on the main issue; as when, in the memorable row raised by Sam Weller upon Mr. Pickwick's being carried before the magistrate at Ipswich, his friend Mr. Winkle shunned all collision with the myrmidons of the law, and sparred valiantly against a little boy by the roadside.

Abbé Casgrain possesses in a supreme degree the comfortable gift of finding in his inquiries nothing but what he wants to find. On the other hand, the sense of historical proportion has been denied him. The removal of the Acadians, which few persons in Canada or the United States ever heard of before Longfellow made a poem out of it, looms on his sight like a hideous black cloud, darkening the whole field of American history. He has pursued his protracted labors with an amazing singleness of purpose, snatching with delighted avidity at anything that might serve as a stone to cast at the abominable Yankee. He calls it impartiality to see one side of the story, and obstinate prejudice, if not moral obliquity, to see both.

Yet he has not toiled four years for nothing. It is true that he has dodged the facts which have so exercised his soul, and tried to bury them under a foaming torrent of recrimination, seeking comfort in the prophecy that he who has dared to make them public will be punished with speedy and deserved oblivion. It is also true that, all ablaze as he is with zeal and passion, he is anything but a safe guide; that his wish is father to his thought; that when he is met by a dangerous truth he shuns it by shutting his eyes and hiding his head in a bush; and, moreover, that he is not only highly imaginative, but agile beyond belief in jumping at conclusions. Hence he must be followed with the most watchful caution.

So much labor, however, concentrated on so narrow a space, must needs produce its effect. He has utterly failed to show that the Acadian story has not another side, fully as dark and repulsive as that which, till lately, has been the only known one. The following are the



chief points he makes: That the removal of the Acadians was not the work of the British Government, but of its servants in America—a fact, however, which everybody knew who had looked into the matter at all. Next, that the Englishman Lawrence, chief actor in the tragedy of removal, and already known as harsh and violent, was also a bad governor and a corrupt man. Next, that the New Englander Morris is chargeable with duplicity and cruelty. The most important documents which Abbé Casgrain has printed do not, however, relate to the removal of the Acadians, but to a period from thirty to forty years earlier—a period, by the way, with which Mr. Parkman has not yet had occasion to deal except in the way of brief reference. These papers show that when the country was passed over to the British crown, the English governors used inexcusable means to prevent the Acadians from emigrating, being apparently as anxious to keep them in the province as later governors were to get them out of it. Finally, Abbé Casgrain produces the first real evidence we have seen in support of the oft-repeated charge that New Englanders coveted Acadian lands. These points should be fully and fairly considered in recounting the miserable story; but, while they add to the burden of one party, they do not lighten that of the other.

If Abbé Casgrain means to confute Mr. Parkman and Sir Adams Archibald, he must fall to and write another book, for all his multifarious productions of the last four or five years have done nothing towards dislodging the adversary. Yet he has the claim to our gratitude of giving us all that can be said by the most eager and industrious of advocates on one side of a mooted question. That after all his labors he has not answered the allegations he so detests, is good proof that they are unanswerable. The truth is, that the treatment of the Acadians was a scandal on both sides.

*The Story of Mexico.* [Story of the Nations.] By Susan Hale. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1889.

WHAT is written in the book of Fate and publishers' plans has to come to pass, and as this volume of the series was long ago announced and put on the stocks, we suppose it is useless to object to it as now unnecessary. Those who have access to Bancroft's volumes will have no use for this, while, if it is a question of a compend, Bancroft has furnished that, too, and of a sort that must be pronounced superior to this except in point of literary style. One thing alone can we think of that would have justified a new condensed work on Mexican history, and that is a summary presentation of the results of historical and archaeological investigation as affecting Mexico's mythical and legendary periods. If one could tell the it's over again as they are gradually taking shape at the hands of Brinton and Bandler, of Orozco y Berra and Bâtres, not to mention German workers, that would be something to be truly thankful for. But, alas! Miss Hale's book is far from doing this. She is conscious that something of the kind needs to be done; that the old nursery-stories cannot be repeated without apologies, and profuse indeed are her apologies—she is "indulging her imagination," she tells her readers, "and playing with legend"; "it would be a pity wholly to set aside" fabulous accounts, she thinks, and concludes that we may as well a little longer "enjoy the tale of past magnificence." And through 123 mortal pages does that tale run, over one-quarter of the entire book. We are aware that this ought not to be laid exclusively at Miss Hale's door—the publisher's plans

called for some account of "the myths with which the history of all lands begins"; but in this case at least the performance is dangerously like the desperate clinging to a creed that can no longer be believed.

This long preliminary loitering of the book between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born, is the more to be regretted since it seems to have compelled the practical ignoring of the whole period from the Conquest to Independence. Scant twenty pages are devoted to 250 years. These years do not lend themselves to the telling of a "story," the author thinks. Nor do they, if one looks alone at the dismal succession of viceroys, lists of church dignitaries, and records of the Inquisition. But back of all these it is possible to go and get at bits of actual life in art, in monastic education, in the methods of extending the Church, in the system of government under which the Indians were brought; and it is a pity to sacrifice all these to Aztec gods and dynasties. Miss Hale more than once gives a suggestive glance at contemporary happenings in Spain, France, and England, helping thus to fix the era and enforce the contrast. But all her joggings of the memory of this sort are not worth one sentence in Sir Henry Maine's last book, where he remarks, wholly in passing, that the system of forced labor in Mexico was no improvisation of the conquerors, but only an institution of the Old World carried over to the New—the *corvée*. But Sir Henry Maines do not grow on every bush, and it would hardly be fair to condemn another for not giving off his flashes of historical insight.

For the history of this century Miss Hale has made a faithful study of the authorities, and has written a narrative which is both clear and, in the main, accurate. It is something of an omission that she makes no mention of Victoria among the guerilla champions of independence who kept up the fight from Hidalgo to Iturbide. Like many another writer, she is staggered at the chaotic state of Mexican politics between Iturbide and Juarez, but for her to take the life of Santa Anna as the thread upon which all the events can be intelligibly strung, is to give up the idea of a philosophical history of the period from the start, and it is inevitable that she should soon tacitly abandon, as she does, her chosen "guide through this puzzling labyrinth." The Intervention is not very strongly handled, some mistakes being discernible even when the older narratives are made the test; of the recent and important evidence bearing on Maximilian's conduct at the wind-up of his empire, we see no trace here. We have noticed several misprints, mostly in proper names, and some minor inaccuracies of statement, none of which does it seem worth while to point out. One mistake, however, ought to be corrected, if only because it is one frequently made. Mexico is not yet free, says Miss Hale, from the burden of debt entailed upon her by Maximilian's ruinous loans. The debts of the empire were all most justly repudiated. Not one cent on those bonds, was the word of Juarez, and has been the steady policy of Mexico since. A small part of Maximilian's immense borrowings might, indeed, seem to be a just debt of Mexico to-day—the \$4,500,000 which he paid as interest on the London debt. But even this Mexico has thus far refused to assume, and probably will never agree to pay.

*Life of John Stuart Mill.* [Great Writers.] By W. L. Courtney. London: Walter Scott; New York: T. Whittaker.

WHETHER disciples of Mill be numerous or not at Oxford, Mr. Courtney has taken good care

that his readers shall not mistake him for one of them. In speaking of his monograph, it is perhaps easier to state what it should not have done than what it might have done; and, although the method be illogical, one can have no hesitation in saying that a critical biography of Mill's life and work should not be made the means of covertly conveying the opinions of an antagonistic school still in a minority in England. Mr. Courtney writes from the centre of the Oxford reaction against utilitarian theories in ethics and individualism in sociology; he has no sympathy with what he terms the "destructive, transitional" philosophy of Mill; consequently, he makes it his purpose to tell us, not so much how Mill stands with regard to the whole current of nineteenth-century thought, as how he is viewed by Mr. Courtney's circle in Oxford to-day. The "we," so often prefixed with an ominous "but," in order to show the differences of opinion between the Oxford Hegelians and Mill, means the reactionary clique lately headed by Thomas Hill Green—the idealist, Grey, of 'Robert Elsmere'.

It is hardly too much to say that dislike of Mill's views has given rise to one case of misrepresentation. In discussing Mill's theory of Causation it is said: "But Mill's 'experience' is not like Mr. Herbert Spencer's; it is not 'race experience,' but 'individual experience.' He is, therefore, always open to the charge of trying to get wide-reaching truths out of the changing and fragmentary experiences of our three score years and ten." Now, a reference to the 'Logic' (Book III, chap. xxi) proves very definitely that Mill maintained no such position. His contention was that, instead of the *a-priori* view of causation as one of the "categories" according to the Kantian method, it was possible to establish the fact of, and hence the belief in, causation as the result of an experience without exception in the history not only of the individual but of the race. Causation is coextensive with *all* human experience; and this gives it a false appearance of necessity. You see that one event follows another invariably and *unconditionally*; so do I; so does everybody. The sum of individual experiences makes it an unbroken race experience; hence causation is established by the Baconian method *per enumerationem simplicem*; and since, from the beginning of all human time, no single flaw has occurred in this continuous experience, the law of causation establishes itself as the principle of uniformity in nature, and constitutes the implicit major premise of every sound induction.

Mr. Courtney's objections to the individualistic standard of the essay 'On Liberty' cannot look for much support in America. The Germanizing influence has of late years been so strong upon English philosophy that one is hardly surprised at finding an undercurrent of Bismarckism in Oxford utterances upon social themes. All we have to answer is, that to such commentary on his opinions Mill himself would probably have replied: "Place the state or society before the individual, and you have the Germany of Bismarck; give free play to individual effort, and you have the United States." Heaven forbid that America fall away from her gospel!

The treatment of much of Mill's private life also leaves something to be desired. His relations with Mrs. Taylor are, of course, the most delicate test of the biographer's attitude, and this, we regret to see, is not without a touch of disparagement. Instead of seeing what is really touching in this one passionate episode of Mill's career, Mr. Courtney narrates it with the analytical glance and careless shrug of one in whom it calls up no sympathetic response.

The simple introduction of a parenthetical word of affection and pity says a great deal on such occasions; and the critic's silence, or half-silence, tells seriously against him. Even the familiar event of the destruction of Carlyle's 'French Revolution' leaves the commentator cold: it is worth while comparing with his account that given with such warmth of sympathetic feeling in Dr. Garnett's 'Carlyle,' written for the same series.

Needless to add that the 'Political Economy' and the 'Subjection of Women' share the same pitiless fate; and therefore, although Mr. Courtney has written with accuracy and clearness, not altogether wanting in ease, and although he does full justice to the noble qualities of Mill's mind and character, he is not the one to undertake a task of this nature. On him, however, lies but a small share of the blame, for, after all, the temptation of being one writer in such a brilliant series, combined with the rare opportunity of writing down a philosophical opponent without appearing to "slog," is not to be resisted—even by an Oxford don. The fault lies mainly with Prof. Robertson, the editor of the series, who, in his selection of a biographer for Mill, has committed an almost unpardonable literary gauderie.

*Louisiana.* By Maurice Thompson. [The Story of the States.] Boston: D. Lothrop Co.

THE author of this book complains in his preface that he has had to write in harness; that he has been required to keep to the strict truth of history, and yet make the story as interesting as a fiction. It is always hard to write to order; but there is no lack of fascinating and romantic material in the history of Louisiana without going beyond the barest facts, as indeed Mr. Thompson shows. Unfortunately Mr. Thompson, we are given to understand, has a high reputation as a "prose poet," whatever untamed monster that may be; and though he keeps his prose Pegasus tolerably well in hand, every now and then the nag goes off, and woe to any unhappy reader who happens to stand in the way. The opening passages on the early discoverers and buccaniers (he thinks the "Spanish Main" was an expanse of water), and the heart-rending account of General Jackson's victory ("carry the news to New Orleans"), are instances of the prose poetry. It is a real pity; for, when Mr. Thompson is not writing fine, and is telling the story, he does it well. But the selections and omissions are made by no rule at all. The peaceful development of Louisiana is told without an allusion to Edward Livingston's work as a codifier; not a hint is given that General Taylor was a resident of the State at the time of his victories and his election. Purporting to give in the chronology a complete list of the United States Senators, he omits Josiah S. Johnston. As is often

the case with his publishers' books, the showy printing is attended with wretched proof-reading; and Mr. Bridgeman's illustrations are feeblest where "strength" is claimed for them. Some of the landscapes, though not vigorous, are pretty, and a few of the fancy views of antiquity are the same; but the representation of the diplomatic sale of Louisiana, which Mr. Thompson calls the treaty of "Ildefonso," is sad indeed.

*British Letters.* Illustrative of Character and Social Life. 3 vols. Edited by Edward T. Mason. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1888.

MR. MASON has collected in his three volumes a great number of letters, some more and some less well known, which cannot be read or skimmed through without a great deal of pleasure. Lamb, Thackeray, Horace Walpole, and innumerable other well-known letter-writers have been made contributors—and it is hardly necessary to say that the wealth of English literature in correspondence is very great. Mr. Mason has endeavored to classify his letters under various heads, so as to make those which are placed together deal with one subject; but in doing so has been forced to pay comparatively little regard to dates, and still less to authorship. The reader is helped out by an index, and he may pick and choose in almost any way that he likes. On the other hand, the chief charm of correspondence is so connected with its continuity that it is diminished the moment the continuity is broken, and here the continuity is broken with every letter. We no sooner catch a glimpse of a familiar face or character than it is replaced by another. We have no time to get a distinct impression, and the rapid changes of authorship produce a sort of confusion that is disagreeable. But, as we have said, the letters selected are almost all worth selection, and any one who takes up the book is sure to find entertainment in it.

*How to Write the History of a Family: A Guide for the Genealogist.* By W. P. W. Phillimore, M.A., B.C.L. Boston: Cupples & Hurd. Pp. 206.

THE title of this book, which is printed in London by Elliot Stock, is slightly misleading to American readers. It is in reality a very useful manual for any English genealogist, and of service to cis-Atlantic students who wish to trace a family in England. The instructions given presuppose an ignorance of such matters on the part of educated Englishmen which is less frequent in this country, where so many town histories and genealogies have been printed. The author mentions with approval some American ideas and plans, and seems to be thoroughly informed as to his subject. More than half of the book is devoted to a statement of the present localities in which public records

are stored. It is impossible in our space to give even a synopsis of this, but the value of such a list is very great, and we can sincerely recommend the volume to all genealogists as a most desirable addition to their libraries.

#### BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Aldrich, Anne R. *The Rose of Flame, and Other Poems of Love*. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 75 cents.  
Austin, A. *Love's Widowhood, and Other Poems*. Macmillan & Co. \$2.  
Blackwell, R. S. *Treatise on the Power to Sell Land for the Non-Payment of Taxes*. 5th ed. 2 vols. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.  
Cawein, M. J. *Accolon of Gaul, with Other Poems*. Louisville: John P. Morton & Co. \$1.  
Crump, A. P. *Investigation into the Causes of the Great Fall in Prices coincident with the Demonetization of Silver by Germany*. Longmans, Green & Co.  
Die Edda. *Deutsch von Wilhelm Jordan*. New York: B. Westermann & Co.  
Dyer, T. F. T. *The Folk-Lore of Plants*. D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.  
Galton, G. *Natural Inheritance*. Macmillan & Co. \$2.50.  
Gerard, J. W. *Titles to Real Estate in the State of New York*. 3d ed. Baker, Voorhis & Co. \$7.  
Hartmann, E. von. *Zwei Jahrzehnte Deutscher Politik und die gegenwärtige Weltlage*. Leipzig: W. Friedrich.  
Hatch, Rev. E. *Essays in Biblical Greek*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.  
Klein, H. J. *Star Atlas*. F. & J. B. Young & Co. \$2.25.  
Kulight, W. *Wordsworthiana: a Selection from Papers read to the Wordsworth Society*. Macmillan & Co. \$2.25.  
Lang, A., and Sylvester, P. *The Dead Leman, and Other Tales from the French*. Scribner & Welford. \$2.00.  
Laurie, Prof. S. S. *Occasional Addresses on Educational Subjects*. Cambridge, Eng.: The University Press; New York: Macmillan. \$1.25.  
Lee, W. John Leitch of Agawam (Ipswich), Mass., 1634-1671, and his Descendants of the Name of Lee. Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons. \$3.  
Levy, Amy. *Reuben Sachs: A Sketch*. Macmillan & Co. \$1.  
Molière, J. B. P. de. *L'Avare*. W. R. Jenkins. 20 cents.  
Moore, Rev. E. *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Divine Commedia: including the complete Collation throughout the Inferno of all the MSS. at Oxford and Cambridge*. Cambridge, Eng.: The University Press; New York: Macmillan.  
Romanes, G. J. *Mental Evolution in Man: Origin of Human Faculty*. D. Appleton & Co. \$2.  
Schiller, F. von. *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*. D. C. Heath & Co.  
Thomas, E. C. *The Philobiblon of Richard de Bury*. Lockwood & Coombes. \$3.75.  
Thompson, D. G. *Social Progress*. Longmans, Green & Co. \$2.  
Thompson, Helen H. *Songs in the Night-Watches. From Voices Old and New*. The Baker and Taylor Co. \$1.25.  
Thompson, M. *The Story of Louisiana*. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. \$1.25.  
Thomson, Sir W. *Popular Lectures and Addresses. I. Constitution of Matter*. Macmillan & Co. \$2.  
Thou Shalt Not: A Novel. G. W. Dillingham. 50 cents.  
Tolstol, L. N. *Anna Karénina*. T. Y. Crowell & Co. 60 cents.  
Transactions of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers. Vol. V. New York.  
Tyler, Sarah. *French Janet*. Harper & Bros. 30 cents.  
Vallings, J. F. *Jesus Christ, the Divine Man: His Life and Times*. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. \$1.00.  
Vickers, R. H. *The Powers and Duties of Police Officers and Coroners*. Chicago: T. H. Flood & Co.  
Vitzthum von Eckstädt, Graf. *Shakespeare und Shakespeare: Zur Genesis der Shakespeare-Dramen*. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta.  
Walford, L. B. *A Stiff-Necked Generation*. Henry Holt & Co. \$1.  
Wasson, Rev. D. A. *Essays, Religious, Social, Political. With a biographical sketch by O. B. Frothingham*. Boston: Lee & Shepard.  
Whittier, J. G. *Prose Works*. 3 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$4.50.  
Wicksteed, P. H. *The Alphabet of Economic Science, Part I. Elements of the Theory of Value or Worth*. Macmillan & Co. 60 cents.  
Wigmore, J. H. *The Australian Ballot System as Embodied in the Legislation of Various Countries*. Boston: Charles C. Soule. 75 cents.  
Wilson-Fiske. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. Vol. VI. Sunderland-Zurita. With Supplement and Analytical Index. D. Appleton & Co.  
Winchell, Prof. A. *Shall We Teach Geology?* Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. \$1.  
Wingate, C. E. L. *An Impossible Possibility*. Belfor Clarke & Co.  
Woodbridge, W. S. *Christ in the Life*. Boston: Universalist Publishing House.

### YOUNG FOLKS' HISTORY OF The War for the Union.

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